

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`


ANCIENT CITIES
OF THE WORLD



600023028L









THE GREAT CITIES

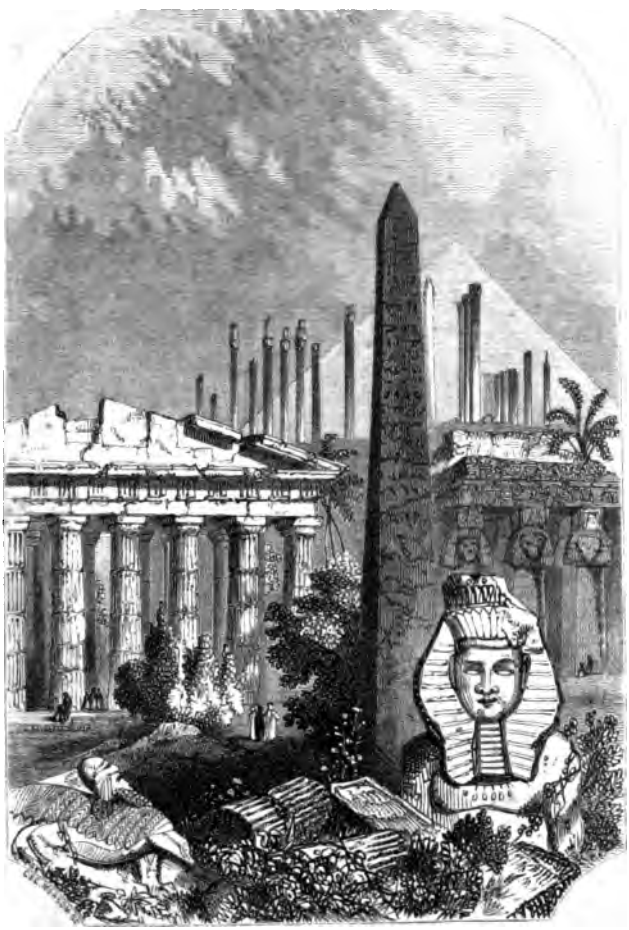
OF THE

Ancient World,

IN

THEIR GLORY AND THEIR DESOLATION.







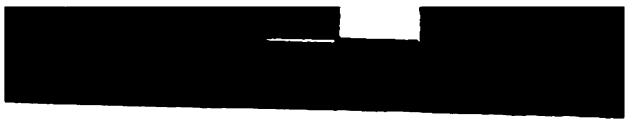


THE

ANCIENT CITIES OF THE WORLD.



GEO. ROUTLEDGE & Co
2. FARRINGDON St
LONDON.





THE

GREAT CITIES

OF THE

ANCIENT WORLD,

In their Glory and their Desolation.

BY

THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY, B.A.,

OF CHRIST CHURCH.

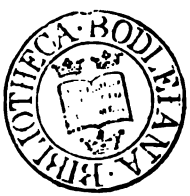
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON:

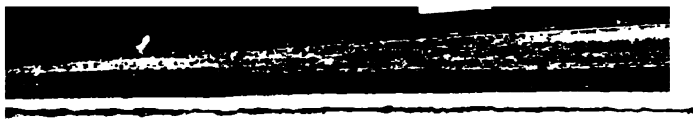
G. ROUTLEDGE & CO., 2, FARRINGDON STREET.

1852.

221. c. 40.



London
Printed by Stewart & Murray,
Old Bailey.



PREFACE.

In completing the volume now offered to the reader, I close a difficult, but not unpleasing task. Had the nature of the undertaking allowed more space, the notices of the cities would have been fuller and more elaborate; but it is hoped that the quantity of condensed information it contains will render it a profitable study, especially for the younger class of readers.

As I have already entered fully into the plan pursued in this work, I shall only observe that the articles on Peking, America, and Scandinavia, are contributed by Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, to whose judicious suggestions and varied reading I have been also indebted in other instances.

THEODORE ALOIS BUCKLEY.

December 15, 1851.





CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	1
BABYLON	7
NINEVEH	36
THEBES	45
MEMPHIS AND HELIOPOLIS	55
PERSEPOLIS	63
DAMASCUS	84
BAALBEK, OR BAALGAD	93
PALMYRA	103
TYRE	111
PETRA	123
THE ROCK-HEWN CITIES OF INDIA	135
PEKING	156
JERUSALEM	185
SMYRNA	227
EPHESUS	232
SARDIS	239

PAGE

THE RUINS OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION . 246

ATHENS 274

CORINTH 316

ELIS 327

MYCENÆ 331

VEII 338

ROME 347

SCANDINAVIA 361

THE

GREAT CITIES

OF THE

ANCIENT WORLD.

INTRODUCTION.

THE reader must not expect to find in the following pages an elaborate and circumstantial history of the ancient world, or even of those portions of it which form the titles of the respective chapters. Had I attempted to detail the physical influences and political events which have raised up cities in the midst of deserts, and, in turn, left deserts where cities once stood; had I told the separate story of each individual among mankind, who had appeared as their founder, revolutionist, or destroyer; had I, in a word, attempted to distil the vast contents of the writings and monuments of antiquity into the present small vessel, I must have signally failed in the attempt. Such a history of the cities of the ancient world must have been too closely mixed up with that of the vast countries of which they were but the centres; the points from whence so many mighty areas of civilization expanded, and the hearts, as it were, that fed and stimulated the life of the surrounding nations, and with whose expiring glory the renown of those nations gradually sank into oblivion.

I would rather hope that the plan I have adopted may lead the reader from a contemplation of the salient points of a limited history, to the sublimer study of the vast

and entire scheme of historical humanity. I would rather wish him to look upon these sketches as outlines to be filled up by the gradual maturing of his own thoughts and readings in historic lore. The great fault of too many of our histories, is, that they are circumstantial and accurate, yet lifeless and unpicturesque. While the minutest questions of chronology are reduced to, at all events, a specious appearance of system; while identity or distinction in the case of persons bearing the same name is insisted upon with exemplary precision; and while every authority, ancient or modern, is sifted, questioned, and proved, history still remains a bare detail of facts and persons, treated as if separable, and viewed with the taste of an anatomist, who loses his admiration of the majestic ocean in his microscopic examination of the minutest *infusoria* with which its inmost recesses are peopled.

It was the knowledge of this defect that led the great reformer of ancient history, Niebuhr, to adopt the more comprehensive style of narrative in his "Lectures on Roman History." Feeling, doubtless, that the noble work in which he had already set forth and defended his ingenious theories, was far more learned than popular, he was too wise to persist in an uninstructive system; and his lectures, handed down to us by the praiseworthy diligence of his pupils, have almost superseded his "History" in their influence upon the studies of youth. Dr. Arnold, who, without adding much to our stock of knowledge, was yet a judicious and tasteful adapter of the labours of other scholars, rendered the same system yet more popular by his greater elegance of language; and the smallest acquaintance with German historical works—so many of them now familiarized to ourselves by translation—will furnish a fair staff of goodly imitators of an excellent principle. It is in humble imitation of such examples, that I have sought to give a broad outline of the histories of the most interesting cities of our forefathers, to point to their doings and sufferings, as the workings of the mechanism

of humanity, ever pressing forward, but by complicated and uncertain movements, to the realization of the eternal design, and to connect man's works with man's nature, not to admire them as isolated specimens of foregone ingenuity.

The political student may possibly object to this plan, that its principle is retrograde, and that he should rather begin with the history of man before he becomes a citizen. He may, and with some reason, prefer to be led across the barren tracts of steppe and mountain territory, over which, and through which, amidst dangers and difficulties that now prove insurmountable to the scientific traveller, untutored hordes must have once made their way. He may seek for the earliest traces of mankind in the communities of savages, whose rapid but indistinct intuition seems scarcely to reflect the smallest remnants of human intelligence; he may seek to proceed upwards from man's degraded, to man's exalted state. To others it seems a more profitable though sadder study, to contemplate the works that set forth man in his glory, and to turn, with awakened consciousness, to the downfal of those works, and bend in silent humiliation to Him who "hath put down the mighty from their seat."

When we view the sand-buried monuments of Egyptian magnificence on their own site, or study the fragments which, thousand of miles away from the places they adorned for ages, form the greatest ornaments of our own museums; when we read of the convulsions of nature, and the wars of men, which have produced vast and sudden ruin, or when we examine the minute polypus which has wrought as sure, but more tardy destruction in Calabria, than its deadly predecessor the earthquake, we feel that even the "worm and the moth" have their niche in the temple of history. What the headlong swoop of armed forces has spared, that the minutest things of earth have claimed for their own, and the same almost invisible agency that has partitioned the depths of the ocean with coral reefs, has eaten away

the well-chiselled marbles that once bore witness to the pride of man's greatness. Did we seek to write history with perfect accuracy, how humiliating its details, how minute its subdivisions!

But in defence of our plan of choosing the history of cities rather than countries, it may be well to observe that the most natural feelings of men lead them to regard towns and cities as the proper objects of their attention. Few foreigners would wish to commence their knowledge of England on Salisbury Plain. The *prestige* of a supposed Druidical foundation would scarcely bring the most enthusiastic antiquarian direct to the cromlechs of Wales. London is as naturally and inseparably associated with general ideas of England as Rome with Latium—Thebes with ancient Egypt. To the student of the physical world every corner of this wide earth teems with manifold interest, and makes him almost seek for a wider. Our purpose moves in a less extended sphere; it is to trace man where man has worked and thought best, to read his history in the greatest standing memorials of its progress, and to make stones tell the sad story of those who laid them. We will hover around the ruins of the cities which are our melancholy and silent guides to the men of old—we will endeavour in idea to restore them, and to people them with the busy thousands who once strove and failed, loved and hated, even as the men of our own times.

Another advantage, which such a plan of narrative presents, is that its data are more satisfactory—its principles better ascertained than the varying and uncertain history of nations. Towns and cities are the stand-points of history. Great as may be the prevalence of mythical associations which surrounds every ancient city, the fragments of ancient buildings stamp even tradition with a certain amount of reality. Although every temple is but the silent chronicle of some lifeless superstition—a stone-graven story of man's forgetfulness of his God—yet in the magnitude of the

dimensions, the exquisite finish of the details of such buildings, we trace the vestiges of human power, and marvel at the wondrous works performed in an age where physical force derived little aid from mechanics, when machinery was most rude and elementary, and when every newly raised structure seemed a fresh triumph over stubborn materials and imperfect resources.

Nor let us forget that it is in the ruins of ancient cities that we find the pictured chronicles of the habits and customs of the early world. On the façades of the temples at Edfou or Salsette, on the slabs which line the exhumed palaces of Nimroud, we behold our forefathers occupied in all the arts of war and peace; and from these rude, but spirited efforts of the chisel, we learn the dress, the arms, the sports, the domestic and political life of those who, though not forgotten, are now unrepresented among the catalogue of nations.

It will, perhaps, be matter of complaint that a detached notice of each city has been preferred to a systematic and progressive history, arranged with a more strict reference to chronology. To this objection I can only oppose the intent of the book. I offer not a history, but a series of historical sketches. I do not mention all the cities of antiquity, but those which are the best representatives of human progress; in a word, I do not seek to supersede the reading of larger and more learned works, but to give the student some zest for, and some regulated principle of reading whereby he may the better enjoy and profit by the manifold learning and industry of the great writers of man's history.

To enumerate the authorities that have supplied the materials for the following pages, would be tedious and unprofitable, especially as they are in general indicated. It seemed useless to crowd the margins with references in support of the *facts* mentioned—such particulars being common property. In respect to theories or opinions, I have endeavoured to be accurate in referring them to their lawful owners, making, how-

ever, a fair allowance for the coincidences common in such investigations.

It remains for me to express a hope that this little volume may make some few persons more fond of history, and that the hard-worked teacher may find that severest difficulty in juvenile study, circumstantial dryness, somewhat softened by the plan I have pursued. If my younger readers will look upon the "Cities of the Ancient World," rather as a reading-book than a school-book, my best wishes will be fulfilled.

BABYLON.

Soon after the paternal curse had gone forth against the descendants of Ham, when the subjection of mind and body, so painfully realised even in our own colonies at the present day, had been denounced by the enraged patriarch against the forerunners of the swarthy children of Africa, we find that Nimrod, the "mighty hunter before the Lord," became the founder of a number of cities, the earliest of which was Babel. Upon the site of this Babel, the first city founded after the Deluge, stood the Babylon of subsequent ages, the capital city of the province which bore the same name, and of the Babylonio-Chaldæan empire.

The quaint brevity of the genealogical synopsis contained in the earlier chapters of the book of Genesis wraps the early history of Babel in comparative oblivion. Of uninspired information we are almost utterly destitute; but the few scattered notices, distributed at wide intervals through the literature of paganism, are satisfactory witnesses to the veracity of the little that the Bible teaches us on this subject.

As the descendants of Cain displayed a taste for refining human life by ingenious inventions, as man, cast down from his state of primitive innocence, sought to supply the artificial wants of his degraded nature, and to make the cleverness of handicraft meet the difficulties which the earth, now "cursed for his sake," opposed to the "sweat of his brow;" so was it, at a later period, with the descendants of Ham. No blessing of a cherished and loving forefather gladdened their toils; no prayer for plenteousness, invoked by a venerable sire who had breathed his last with hands rested in benediction on the heads of their children,

hung around the memories, and stimulated the energies of these unworthy descendants of the antediluvian "preacher of righteousness." They were, after a manner, deserted of God; their stubborn spirit sought not to heal its sufferings by repentance, but to overcome them by adventurous and persevering acts of human enterprise. Rapine and plunder, and warfare on a small scale, became the pursuits of the marauding progeny of Ham; till one chieftain, more systematic in his boldness, more politic in his speculations, sought to bring his dissipated forces to a common centre, and to collect the tents or huts of his hardy followers into a kind of local community. Like ancient Rome at its outset, the Babel of Nimrod may have been an asylum for the outcast and profligate—an Alsatia, to which the "children of men," bankrupt in faith and morals, resorted, and forgot the simplicity of the godly life of the patriarchs in the ingenious infidelities and boastful self-reliance of an artificial society.

But the degradation of the human race was not confined to the posterity of Ham. Gradual innovations, the result of evil communications, or of man's natural dereliction of righteousness, aggravated the pride, and fomented the evil passions of the whole human race, until they developed themselves in one grand effort of presumption. Men had begun to feel their own power, but the recent catastrophe of the Deluge left some fears which they were almost unwilling to acknowledge. While the awful desolation of the earth worked upon their superstition, their faith in the merciful promise of God was feeble, and they sought to build a tower which should afford a refuge against the contingency of another flood. Whether we regard this bold and energetic attempt as originating in their fears of a judgment which God had expressly declared should not again visit the earth, or as a philosophical attempt to fix a common centre round which the human race should range themselves, and thereby prevent the "scattering over the face of the earth," which might

seem probable in an infantile and half-formed community, the event proves that some evil feelings must have influenced the design. It has been truly observed, that "the idea of preventing their being scattered abroad by building a lofty tower is applicable in the most remarkable manner to the wide and level plains of Babylonia, where scarcely one object exists different from another to guide the traveller in his journeying, and which in those early days, as at present, were a sea of land, the compass being then unknown."[1] Josephus[2] has ascribed the whole undertaking to the agency of Nimrod, even regarding it as an act of revenge for the destruction of their fathers; but the more moderate criticism of other writers agrees in referring it to the desire of political centralization, mingled with the vain hope of leaving to posterity a conspicuous monument of their greatness and perseverance.

Traditions the most extravagant, opinions the most varying, and criticisms outrivalling both in their fantastical character, have failed to shake the credit of this early narrative of man's presumption. The acute and learned, but inconstant Julian found little else in this history but a subject for jest; while others, more reverential to the word of Holy Writ, but over ingenious in their attempts at its exposition, saw in it nothing more than a plausible attempt to account for the diversity of languages, and the dispersion of mankind. Far more rational is the opinion of Heeren,[3] who asserts that "there is perhaps nowhere else to be found a narrative so venerable for its antiquity, or so important in the history of civilization, in which we have at once preserved the traces of primæval international commerce, the first political associations, and the first erection of secure and permanent dwellings."

[1] Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia, vol. i. p. 207. Compare my edition of Calmet's Biblical Dictionary, p. 119.

[2] Antiquities, i. 4.

[3] Asiatic Nations, vol. ii. p. 146; quoted in Kitto, *l. c.*

But the great offence of which the tower of Babel was the result, was the crying sin of idolatry. The collateral evidence of pagan writers shows an early tendency to the worship of the heavenly bodies;[1] and there seems some reason for believing, with an excellent writer,[2] that these apostates from the worship of the true God had commenced the structure of the Tower of Babel, not with the wild conceit of raising it till its top should reach to heaven, but that its top should be sacred to the heavens, the common temple of worship, and centre of their idolatrous union. The same passion for worshipping in the "high places," which subsequently led men to perform their devotions on the summits of mountains, or on the house top, would probably operate on the minds of these early idolators, and, dwelling in a flat country, they would substitute architectural structures to supply the deficiencies of nature.

But whatever may be the doubts and difficulties connected with the history of the Tower of Babel, it is the earliest evidence of the uncontrollable energy of man, ever pressing onward, and seeking to raise himself, not to the sublimity of a purified faith and conscience, but to the self-sufficient nobility of dominion over his fellows. As we advance in our study of history, we find the same spirit developing itself in the sturdy despotism of Eastern governments, the same untired industry rearing the most sublime and elaborately finished structures in attestation of its efforts, and the same forgetfulness of a creator confounding its own devices, and leaving, in piles of ghastly ruins, instructive, but soon forgotten lessons of humility.

I shall again revert to this building, in connection with the Temple of Belus, supposed to have occupied the same site; meanwhile, I will attempt to sketch the glories of ancient Babylon, and to lead the reader to the serious contemplation of the melancholy picture

[1] Cicero, de Div. l. i. proem.
[2] Dean Graves on the Pentateuch, p. 110.

presented by the shapeless mounds which occupy the ground where its colossal walls once challenged the skill of the conqueror and the might of armies.

Whatever may have been the energy and intelligence of the Romulus of the Eastern world, and great as may have been the results brought about by his crafty and resolute policy, Babel must have been but an infant city in comparison with the Babylon of a later period. Belus is, by common consent, the prince to whom much of the magnificence of this city owed its origin, and although the Bible furnishes us with no information as to his immediate successors, pagan history affords a sufficiently plausible account of their share in the work of improvement.[1] Among such narratives, it is not unusual to find a woman occupying a conspicuous position; and the Semiramis of Babylon is, to our own idea, as probable a character as Catherine of Russia or Elizabeth of England. It has become fashionable to explain away facts, and to reduce real personages to ideal representatives of principles or developments in society. Semiramis has been of the number whose very existence has thus been called in question. But while we may admire the ingenuity that can thus convert history into fiction, we must deprecate the danger of reducing fairly established truths to plausible fictions, of reasoning facts into theories, and substituting rationalistic assertion for historical statement.[2] The greatest objection to such theory is its easy proneness to abuse. The same principle that, in the hands of Niebuhr, has struck sparks of truth into the patchwork-shreds of early Roman his-

[1] "Belus is said to have reigned at Babylon, A.M. 2682, B.C. 1322, in the time of Shamgar, judge of Israel; and to have been succeeded by Ninus, Semiramis, Ninyas, and others; but none of these princes are noticed in Scripture, at least not under the title of Kings of Babylon."—Calmet, p. 126, ed. Robinson.

[2] I may, perhaps, be permitted to refer my classical readers to some remarks on this rationalism of history, in the prefaces to my translations of Sophocles and Euripides, in Bohn's Classical Library.

tory, has, in the crude ramblings of Strauss, elicited infidelity from the voice of Truth itself.

But, while there seems to be little reason for depriving Semiramis of her historical existence, we are, no doubt, extremely deficient in information that can be relied on. Those who would judge of the character of Queen Elizabeth from the panegyrics, dedications, and epigrams of her time, or who would believe all the traditions attached to the memory of Lucrezia Borgia,[1] would perhaps feel satisfied with the loose narrative of public greatness and private crime, through which the memory of Semiramis has reached our times. More philosophical readers will rather consider these narratives as springing from opposite views of the same character, and as therefore equally prone to exaggeration, although in different directions. Incest, murder, and treachery on the one hand, intellectual vigour, unbounded liberality, and public spirit on the other, form the contradictory features of the picture held up to our view. Nevertheless, Semiramis divides the honour with Belus of being the founder of, at all events, the new Babylon,[2] and it is of this city in its days of glory that we will now attempt a description.

Before detailing the account given by the ancient traveller and eye-witness, Herodotus, we may observe that the flatness of the surrounding country greatly favours its probability. Its massive walls, unlike those forming the colossal rampart of China, had to traverse no devious hill ranges, to depress themselves into no valleys. Hence the geometrical regularity, which is so seldom found even in the most modern towns and cities, becomes not only easy, but natural. Furthermore, if the Babylonians, as there is good reason to suppose, had really made some progress in astronomy, the restoration of the Tower of Babel under its new form of the Temple of Belus was a probable step, espe-

[1] I do not, however, advocate Mr. Roscoe's romantic and chivalrous defence of this lady. (See Bohn's edition, vol. ii. s. f.)

[2] Cf. Amm. Marcell., xxiii. 20, Oros. ii. 6.



cially as, commanding a survey of the surrounding country, it might have readily indicated the approach of an invading enemy.

Babylon formed an exact square, each of the sides being 120 furlongs (fifteen miles) in length, and its whole circuit 480 furlongs, or twenty leagues. Its walls were eighty-seven feet in thickness, so that several chariots could run abreast along their summit, and they were reared to the height of three hundred and fifty feet. The vast ditch which encompassed the walls had furnished the materials for the large bricks of which it was composed, and which also formed the lining of the ditch. The layers of brick were cemented with bitumen, abundantly supplied by the pits in the neighbourhood. Twenty-five gates of brass on each of the four sides, formed the approaches to a corresponding number of streets intersecting one another at right angles, each street being fifteen miles in length and a hundred and fifty feet in width. To complete the internal arrangements, four other streets, with houses only on one side, the ramparts being on the other, were added, each being two hundred feet in length. By this precise regularity of arrangement, Babylon was divided into six hundred and seventy-six squares, each square being two miles and a quarter in circuit. The houses were very lofty, being carried to the height of three or four stories; but the width of the streets, and the open courts and gardens within hollow squares, must have produced a perfect ventilation and a healthy openness that form a strange contrast to the cramped, irregular, and unhealthy streets in some of the most refined and civilized of modern cities, even in our own country. It is probable that the streets nearest the walls were devoted to mercantile affairs and to the preservation of stores, while those nearer the centre formed the residences of the higher classes. The Euphrates intersected the city from north to south, and over it was erected a magnificent bridge, about a furlong in length, and sixty

feet in width. At its extremities were two palaces, the old palace on the eastern side of the river, the new one on the western. Near the old palace stood the Temple of Belus. We will again listen to the description of the Father of History.[1]

"In the middle of the city, is the temple of the god Belus, with brazen gates remaining up to my own time, quadrangular, and occupying a space of two furlongs. In the middle of the sacred precinct stands a solid tower, a furlong both in depth and width; upon this tower another is erected, and another upon this, to the number of eight towers. An ascent to them has been formed on the outside, in a spiral staircase running round all the towers. As one reaches about half way, resting-places and seats are provided. In the last tower is a large shrine, and within the temple lies a large bed well appointed, and near it stands a golden table; but there is no image within; nor does any one remain there by night but a native female, one whom the god has chosen in preference to all others, as say the Chaldæans, who are the priests of the god. And these same men assert what I can by no means believe, namely, that the god himself frequents the temple, and reposes on the couch. And there belongs to the temple in Babylon another shrine lower down, where there stands a large golden image of the god, and near it is placed a large golden table, and the pedestal and the throne are of gold; and, as the Chaldæans assert, these things were made for eight hundred talents of gold. And outside the shrine is a golden altar; and there is also another great altar where offerings of sheep are sacrificed, for it is not lawful to sacrifice victims upon the golden altar, but sucklings only; but upon the greater altar the Chaldæans offer every year a thousand talents worth of frankincense at the time when they celebrate the festival of the god. And there was at that time a golden statue in the temple twelve cubits

[1] Herodotus, i. 181.

in height; but I did not see it, and speak merely from the report of the Chaldæans."

The whole of the temple was enriched with the offerings of private devotees, consisting of massive golden censers, statues, cups, and sacred vessels, of a weight and value scarcely to be imagined.

There is little doubt that the external form of this tower, with the stones gradually tapering in width, gave it the appearance of a pyramidal edifice. Such structures are common in India, the finest specimen being the great pagoda at Tanjore, dedicated to the god Siva. It is about two hundred feet in height, and, like the temple of Belus, stands within an area enclosed by high walls, and contains a chamber that receives no light but from lamps. Such buildings have also been discovered in Mexico.[1] Strength of form and convenience in building—such structures forming their own scaffolding by their ascending platforms—are obvious reasons for the adoption of the pyramidal style in the infancy of architecture, the rude state of implements, and the rough simplicity of mechanical appliances.

Let us now turn to another wonder of Babylon, her palace and hanging gardens, which claimed a place among the wonders of the ancient world. But we must first briefly advert to the character and career of Nebuchadnezzar, the most magnificent of Babylon's kings, to whom they owed their origin.

I am not going to enter into the chronological difficulties of the intermediate history, but shall content myself with observing that Nebuchadnezzar had been associated in the Chaldæan empire with his father, Nabopolassar, and that his first appearance in history is as a conqueror. Having recovered Carchemish, which had been wrested from the empire by Pharaoh Necho about B.C. 607, he turned his arms against the Phœnicians and the Jews, carrying Jehoiachim, king of Judah, into captivity, but subsequently leaving him

[1] Compare Long's Egyptian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 186, sqq. vol. ii. p. 253, sqq., and Taylor's Calmet, p. 124, Robinson's edition.

in Judæa, stipulating, however, for the payment of a heavy tribute. The details of the subsequent revolts of the Jews, terminating in the death of the unfortunate Zedekiah, will be reserved for our remarks on Jerusalem.

It is to be doubted whether Nebuchadnezzar was not actuated by policy in his lenity towards Jehoiachim, rather than by humanity, and we may fairly suppose that, like the Roman emperors at a subsequent period, he had perceived the irritable and uncertain disposition of the Jews, and preferred a conciliating compromise to an attempt to rule them as a conquered nation. His design was, however, frustrated, and it was not until B.C. 588 that Jerusalem, wholly conquered, gave no further trouble.

Scripture furnishes us with many interesting particulars of the life of this prince. That he was a scourge of the wicked in the hands of the Lord, the fate of Tyre[1] sufficiently teaches. With unlimited resources, both of troops and treasure, loaded with the spoils of conquered nations, and with a valour and determination heightened and matured by constant experience, Nebuchadnezzar entered on the government of Babylon. How far he may have entertained right notions concerning his God; how far God may have been with him; whether this "vessel of wrath" had had his heart softened and his pride rebuked by a consciousness of the truth, we cannot clearly judge. But we have good reason for supposing that he was not a mere heathen, that his mind was at times awakened to the truth, and that he may have been an object of God's final mercy, as well as an instrument of his anger. Of the melancholy story of his blindness of heart, his deadly pride, and defection from God, we shall soon have occasion to speak.

Nebuchadnezzar, having finished the work of conquest, turned his attention to aggrandizing the magnificence of this marvellous city. Repairs and decora-

[1] B.C. 572.

tions throughout the old portions of the city, and new public buildings of wonderful extent and beauty, gave Nebuchadnezzar a claim to be considered a second founder of "the lady of kingdoms."[1]

The hanging gardens which adorned the new palace contained an area of four hundred square feet, and were composed of several large terraces, the uppermost of which stood on a level with the summit of the city walls. The ascent from one terrace to another was by staircases ten feet in width. This vast mass was supported by large arches, built one upon another, externally strengthened by a wall twenty-two feet in thickness, covered with stones, rushes, bitumen, and plates of lead, to prevent leaking. On the highest terrace was an aqueduct, supplied with water from the river by a pump, from whence the whole gardens were watered. Tradition assigns this splendid work to the affectionate complaisance of Nebuchadnezzar for his wife Amytis, the daughter of Astyages, who retained a yearning for the mountains and forests of Media.[2] Quintus Curtius, a picturesque though careless writer, assures us that these gardens presented, at a distance, the appearance of a forest growing on its native mountains. The effect, in a country so flat as Babylon, and so deficient in rich scenery, must have been magnificent.

Although these hanging gardens are not mentioned in Scripture, there is, nevertheless, pathetic reference in the Psalms,[3] to the gardens which seem to have lined the banks of the Euphrates. Here were the "willows" on which the captive children, who had so oft forgotten their God, but who clung with sad remembrance to their Jerusalem, "hung their harps," and to which "valley of willows" the captive Moabites were transported.[4] The language of the Psalmist would lead us to believe that, besides the Euphrates, Babylon was irrigated by a considerable number of streams and rivulets, which

[1] Isa. lxvii. 5.
[2] See Intpp. on Quint. Curt. v., 1, 32, p. 315, sq. ed. Snak.
[3] Ps. cxxxvii. 2. [4] Isa. xv. 7.

probably gave an additional coolness and beauty to the open courts and gardens, that filled the open squares throughout the city.

With reason, then, might the inspired prophets vie with each other in eulogising Babylon as "the great,"[1] "the praise of the whole earth,"[2] "the beauty of the Chaldee's excellency."[3] With reason might profane authors revel in descriptions of its might and its magnificence. Yet was it with Babylon, as with ancient Rome. It fell a prey to the foe, when its greatness seemed consummated. The glorious, successful, and luxurious reign of Nebuchadnezzar was the hectic flush, the dazzling glare, which heralded the decay that was corroding its inward frame; it was the blaze of the fire that was to give place to blackened ruins and smouldering ashes.

Vice, dissipation, and extravagance, in every form, were the characteristics of the Babylonians in subsequent times; and although we may suppose their degradation to have been arrested during the life of Nebuchadnezzar, though his valour and determination may have curbed the progress of evil, yet it is highly probable that the progress of crime, the natural consequence of idolatry, had already set in, and was rapidly doing its work. Furthermore, it has ever been the policy of conquerors to amuse their people, rendered restless by a previous life of excitement and plunder, by the more seductive, but less revolutionary, allurements of pleasure and pageantry. The supposition that some such motives stimulated the conduct of Nebuchadnezzar, derives additional corroboration from the fact that the population brought to Babylon were a mixed people, chiefly composed of captives of all nations. Among such a people, there must have been certain desperate characters, to whom the smallest hope of success would have acted as a satisfactory reason for revolt; and the surest way to deaden the sensibility of men to their dependent condition, would be to make that condition as agreeable as possible, by

[1] Dan. iv. 30. [2] Jer. li. 41. [3] Isa. xlvii. 5.

appealing to man's worst passions and strongest propensities.[1]

But the king himself had well nigh fallen a victim to the vanity, which is so often the deadly curse of earthly greatness. Musing on the magnificence he had reared around him, pondering on the multitudes that bowed to him as lord and master, and, perhaps, in the same benighted spirit as David of old, numbering to himself the amount of his treasures, the king spake and said—"Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"[2]

Terrible was the rebuke which fell upon the ear of the terrified king. Scarcely had he uttered the vaunting exclamation, "while the word was in his mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; the kingdom is departed from thee. And they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field: they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will."[3]

Whether, by this terrific denunciation, Nebuchadnezzar was really degraded to the condition threatened, or whether its effect was to impress his mind with a hypochondriac self-delusion,[4] under which he seemed to have lost the attributes of rational humanity, must not be hastily decided. Morbid melancholy has often accompanied the private moments of the greatest conquerors and the sternest politicians; and minds the most energetic, and judgments the most profound, have been made

[1] I would wish my classical readers to compare the similar policy of Crœsus in reference to the revolted Lydians. Herodot. i. 155.

[2] This most painful, but most instructive history should be compared with the sublime apologue in Luke xii. 16, sqq.

[3] Dan. iv. 29, sqq.

[4] This view has been advocated by many critics, see Dr. Kitto's Cyclopædia.

the toys of a wandering fancy, revelling in man's power of self-deception. But the scripture narrative is fearfully distinct in its narrative as a fact. "The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar: and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws." Besides, the moral lesson to a sinning and idolatrous nation would have been lost, if a mere seclusion-seeking monomania or lycanthropy had been the only infliction. How much more vividly would the sensual Babylonians have been impressed with God's power, more terribly awed by its effects, if they beheld him, to whom they had addressed every mark of oriental adulation and reverence, grovelling amidst the beasts of the field, bereft alike of the power of the king and the dignity of the man!

At the expiration of the time foretold, Nebuchadnezzar awoke to a consciousness of dawning reason, and with a gladdened and grateful heart broke forth into thanks for the mercy shewn by Him, "whose works are truth, and his ways judgment: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase."

There is every reason to suppose that this fearful lesson took effect, at least with the thinking class of men, and that the court for some time set the example of the worship of the true God. But this repentance was but short lived. A gigantic image was erected in the plains of Dura, and the whole people recalled to the practice of idolatry. The noble resistance of the three Jewish captives, and their miraculous deliverance from the flames to which they had been condemned, are circumstances too well known to need recapitulation. Modern writers seem to concur in placing the death of Nebuchadnezzar in the same year as this last defection from the oft-offended Almighty. I must, however, express my opinion that Prideaux is more correct in following the simple narrative of Daniel, and in making the death of Nebuchadnezzar follow his resto-

ration from madness.[1] His decease is generally placed about B. C. 562.

With Nebuchadnezzar the glory of Babylon departed. His son Evil-Merodach was a vicious and profligate prince, but displayed much kindness and liberality towards the conquered king of Judah, Jehoiachin. His brief reign of two years was only distinguished by unbridled indulgence of evil passions, extravagance, and indolent mismanagement; and a conspiracy of his own relations involved himself and his luckless favourite in untimely destruction.[2]

But it was not until the reign of Nebuchadnezzar's grandson, Belshazzar, that Babylon began to experience the sad reverses with which the prophets had long since threatened her, and of which we shall make fuller mention when we view her in her ruined and desolate condition. Irreligion and immorality had increased tenfold; and when the king, in a moment of frenzied pride, brought out the sacred vessels of the temple of the Jews, to be polluted by the lips of idol-worshippers and licentious concubines, the miraculous handwriting on the wall proclaimed that the cup of wrath was filled up, and that the days of the wicked prince were numbered.

There is little doubt that the death of Belshazzar followed almost immediately. During the time that had elapsed in sending for the wise men, and subsequently for Daniel, to interpret the mysterious writing, Cyrus had entered the city, and penetrated to the very interior of the palace. Belshazzar had held out against the enemy, and had retained the empire for seventeen years; but this was to be attributed, not to his own bravery or wisdom, but to the able conduct of the queen-mother, Nitocris. So celebrated was this woman

[1] Connection, v. i. p. 149, sq. From the same great work, p. 135, I learn that William Penn, the Quaker, wished to have the City of Pennsylvania built according to the design of Babylon, and that this plan was followed to a considerable extent.

[2] Prideaux, p. 152.

for her energy and foresight, that "Herodotus speaks of her as if she had been sovereign, and attributes to her all those works about Babylon, which other authors ascribe to her son."[1] The great lake, however, and the canal, which this queen had completed, proved fatal to the city; for Cyrus, having drained the Euphrates by means of the receptacle thus afforded for the superfluous waters, was enabled to enter Babylon. And in after-days, by the breaking down of the banks at the head of the canal, the river was turned that way; and as no care had been taken to reduce it to its former channel by repairing the breach, all the country on that side was overflown and inundated by it.

The plan we pursue prevents our entering into details of the many discrepancies and variations in the accounts of the taking of Babylon, and the death of Belshazzar. But there is one grand centre where all narratives meet in wonderful harmony, in the fulfilment of prophecy.

Every circumstance of the ruin of this "hammer of the whole earth,"[2] is set forth in minute and vivid portraiture in the burdens of Isaiah[3] and Jeremiah.[4] Its siege by an army of Medes, Elamites, and Armenians; the seizure of the fords of the river; the confusion that prevailed throughout the city, and the disheartening fear that paralyzed the stoutest hearts, are all detailed as though passing before the eyes of the inspired heralds of the divine wrath. Like the Troy of the poets, it was to be taken when drunkenness and riot had plunged its chieftains into that sleep, from which they were to awake only to a consciousness more horrible than the "bitterness of death" through which they had passed. Nature itself seemed to be turned from her wonted course; and the river, which had watered the gardens of her glory, was to retire

[1] Prideaux, p. 174, to whom I am mainly indebted.
[2] Jer. l. 23.
[3] See xiii. xiv. xlvii. &c., with the copious and entertaining commentary of Barnes.
[4] See l. sqq. &c.

from its proper limits, and open a dry pathway for the destroyer. With Babylon, it was to be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. "It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tents there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there. And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant places, and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged."[1]

Such is a brief sketch of Babylon in its greatness; such were the vices that brought about, and such the predictions that announced, its ruin. Like Rome, it fell through its own magnitude, its forgetfulness of the proper nobility of man, and its deadly pride.

No longer an empire, it became a tributary province of the new power of the Persians. Unavailing revolts against the Persian yoke brought down fresh judgments, and Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes gradually stripped it of its walls, its towers, and its palaces. Strabo, writing in the reign of Augustus, declares that Babylon had then become so desolate, that it might be called a vast desert. In the time of Pausanias,[2] fragments of the walls alone bore witness of its former existence; and subsequently, a miserable village occupies the site of this proudest city of the earth.

It remains for us to give some idea of Babylon in its present condition, or rather to notice some of the ruins supposed to bear witness to her downfall.

We must first, however, observe, that the actual site of Babylon is very uncertain, and that there is considerable reason to believe that it has changed with the fortunes of its people. To Austin Henry Layard, the enthusiastic and enlightened scholar, and his well-directed researches, amidst all the disadvantages op-

[1] Isa. xiii. 8. f. [2] viii. 33, p. 668, ed. Kuhn.

posed by a tasteless and feeble-minded government, we owe almost all our real knowledge on the subject, and for his descriptions we may fairly claim a hearing, before we notice any previous descriptions.

After noticing the variety in the forms of cuneiform[1] writing found in the various ruins, Layard proceeds as follows:—"The inscriptions in the Babylonian character, from the ruins near Hillah,[2] can be shown to belong to the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and consequently to a period subsequent to the fall of the Assyrian Empire. The name of that monarch is found upon them all. Amongst the ruins of Niffer, to the south of Hillah, Major Rawlinson has discovered other inscriptions with a new royal name; but it is uncertain to what period they belong. That eminent antiquary, who was, I believe, the first to identify the name of Nebuchadnezzar on the bricks and tablets from the ruins so long believed to be those of the scriptural Babylon, inclines to the opinion that Niffer may represent its true site, whilst the mounds around Hillah are the remains of a more recent city of the same name. Nor is this supposition of the existence of two Babylons inconsistent with history and Eastern customs. Nebuchadnezzar declares that *he built the city*.[3] After the successful revolt of the Babylonians, and the fall of Nineveh, it is not improbable that Nebuchadnezzar, on founding a new empire, which was to rival the Assyrian in power and extent, should have desired to build a capital worthy of it. During the Assyrian supremacy, the ancient capital of

[1] *i. e.* wedge-shaped, so called from the letters being formed of various combinations of small wedges.

[2] The usually assigned site of Babylon.

[3] See Dan. iv. 29, as above. The term "built," however, admits of much greater latitude, and I have been unwilling to adopt any conjecture too readily. I must, however, confess that Layard's view is strongly borne out by his quotation from Josephus, c. Ap. i., who, on the authority of Berosus, asserts that Nebuchadnezzar repaired the then existing city of Babylon, and *added another to it.*

the Chaldees may have partly fallen into ruins; and it was perfectly in accordance with the customs and prejudices of an Eastern people to choose for rebuilding it a new site not far removed from the old. Babylon affords more than one instance of this very custom. The successor of Alexander the Great in the empire of the East, seeking for a capital, did not rebuild Babylon, which had again fallen into decay. He chose a site near it on the banks of the Tigris, founded a new city, calling it Seleucia, after his own name, and partly constructing it of materials taken from Babylon. Subsequently, when another change of dynasty took place, the Parthian succeeding to the Greek, the city was again removed, and Ctesiphon rose on the opposite side of the river. After the Persians came the Arabs, who, desiring to found a capital for their new empire, chose a different site; still, however, remaining in the vicinity of the old. Changing the locality more than once, they at length built the celebrated city of Baghdad, which actually represents the ancient Babylon."[1]

The words of Layard cannot fail to carry authority with them, supported as they are by the constant practice of eastern nations. But till more is known of these very ruins—till a clearer line of demarcation can be discovered between the histories of these neighbouring nations, in their independent or their tributary state, we cannot readily depend upon analogy as our guide. The histories of Babylon and Nineveh are so curiously interwoven with each other that it is difficult to say where the one ends and the other begins. Furthermore, our surveys of Babylon are far less perfect than those which Botta and Layard have carried out at Khorsabad, Mosul, and Nimroud. Nothing but an equal amount of investigation can justify anything like a parallel view of their history and antiquities. Without, therefore, denying the truth of this great antiquarian's statements, we will content ourselves with Rich's description of the great mounds of ruins which

[1] Layard's Nineveh, vol. ii. p. 173, sqq.

occupy the surrounding neighbourhood. In reading these particulars, I would wish the reader to observe three things: first, that whatever doubts may exist as to the precise era of the buildings whose fragments are thus disentombed, there is no doubt that the Babylon of the Scriptures is to be sought for among them; secondly, that although the Birs Nimroud has, even by recent scholars, been regarded as occupying the site of the ancient temple of Belus,[1] or the more ancient tower of Babel, Layard's scepticism on the subject is, at least, entitled to investigation; and, thirdly, that the remains of walls found in these districts "do not enclose the space attributed to either Babylon or Nineveh, but from quadrangular enclosures of more moderate dimensions, which appear to have been attached to the royal dwellings, or were, perhaps, intended as places of refuge in case of a siege."[2]

Rich, many years the Resident of the East India Company at Baghdad, was a man "whose enterprise, industry, extensive and varied learning, and rare influence over the inhabitants o the country, acquired as much by character as position, eminently qualified for the task."[3] We may add that a deep sense of the marvellous operations of the Almighty, working out his judgments in accordance with his forewarnings, through the voices of prophets, gives a weight and solemnity to the tone of Rich's speculations, which cannot too much excite our admiration. We present our readers with the following extracts:—

"The ruins of Babylon may be said almost to commence from Mohawil, a very indifferent khan, close to which is a large canal, with a bridge over it; the whole country between it and Hillah exhibiting, at intervals, traces of building, in which are discoverable burnt and unburnt bricks and bitumen. Three mounds, in particular, attract attention from their magnitude. The district called by the natives El-Aredh Babel extends

[1] See Robinson's Calmet, and Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia.
[2] Nineveh, vol. ii. p. 277. [3] Layard, Introduction, p. xxiii.

on both sides of the Euphrates. The ruins of the eastern quarter of Babylon, commence about two miles above Hillah, and consist of two large masses or mounds, connected with, and lying north and south of each other; and several smaller ones which cross the plain at different intervals. At the northern termination of the plain is Pietro della Valle's ruin; from the south-east (to which it evidently once joined, being only obliterated there by two canals) proceeds a narrow ridge or mound of earth, wearing the appearance of having been a boundary wall. This ridge forms a kind of circular enclosure, and joins the south-east point of the most southerly of the two grand masses. The whole area, enclosed by the boundary on the east and south, and the river on the west, is two miles and six hundred yards from east to west—as much from Pietro della Valle's ruin to the southern part of the boundary, or two miles and one thousand yards to the most southernly mound of all. The first grand mass of ruins south, is one thousand one hundred yards in length, and eight hundred in the greatest breadth. The most elevated part may be about fifty or sixty feet above the level of the plain; and it has been dug into for the purpose of obtaining bricks. On the north, is a valley of five hundred and fifty yards in length, the area of which is covered with tussocks of rank grass, and crossed by a line of ruins of very little elevation. To this succeeds the second grand heap of ruins, the shape of which is nearly a square of seven hundred yards length and breadth. This is the place where Beauchamp[1] had previously made his observations; and it certainly is the most interesting part of the ruins of Babylon. Every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest which have left traces in the eastern quarter: the bricks are of the finest description, and, notwithstanding this is the grand storehouse of them, and that the greatest supplies have been, and

[1] M. Beauchamp, Vicar-General of Babylon, had visited these ruins several times previously to Rich.

are now constantly drawn from it, they appear still to be abundant. In all these excavations walls of burnt brick, laid in lime-mortar of a very good quality, are seen; and in addition to the substances generally strewed on the surfaces of all these mounds, we here find fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthenware, marble, and great quantities of varnished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which are surprisingly fresh. In a hollow, near the southern part, I found a sepulchral urn of earthenware, which had been broken in digging, and near it lay some human bones, which pulverized with the touch.

"To be more particular in my description of this mound:—not more than two hundred yards from its northern extremity is a ravine, hollowed out by those who dig for bricks, in length about a hundred yards, and thirty feet wide by forty or fifty feet deep. On one side of it, a few yards of wall remain standing, the face of which is very clear and perfect, and it appears to have been the front of some building. The opposite side is so confused a mass of rubbish, that it should seem the ravine had been worked through a solid building. Under the foundations of the southern end, an opening is made, which discovers a subterranean passage, floored and walled with large bricks laid in bitumen, and covered over with pieces of sandstone a yard thick, and several yards long, on which the whole weight rests, being so great as to have given a considerable degree of obliquity to the side walls of the passage. It is half full of brackish water (probably rain-water impregnated with nitre in filtering through the ruins, which are all very productive of it); and the workmen say that some way on, it is high enough for a horseman to pass upright: as much as I saw of it, it was near seven feet in height, and its course to the south. This is described by Beauchamp, who most unaccountably imagines it must have been part of the city wall. The superstructure over the passage is cemented with bitumen; other parts of the ravine are cemented with

mortar, and the bricks have all writing upon them. The northern end of the ravine appears to have been crossed by an extremely thick wall of yellowish brick, cemented by a brilliant white mortar, which has been broken through in hollowing it out; and a little to the north of it, I discovered what Beauchamp saw imperfectly, and understood from the natives to be an idol. I was told the same, and that it was discovered by an old Arab in digging; but that, not knowing what to do with it, he covered it up again. On sending for the old man, I set a number of men to work, who after a day's hard labour, laid open enough of the statue to show that it was a lion of colossal dimensions, standing upon a pedestal of a course kind of gray granite, and of rude workmanship; in the mouth was a circular aperture, into which a man might introduce his fist. A little to the west of the ravine, is the next remarkable object, called by the natives the Kasr, or Palace, by which appellation I shall designate the whole mass. It is a very remarkable ruin, which being uncovered, and in part detached from the rubbish, is visible for a considerable distance, but so surprisingly fresh in its appearance, that it was only after a minute inspection, that I was satisfied of its being in reality a Babylonian remain. It consists of several walls and piers, which face the cardinal points, eight feet in thickness, in some places strengthened by pilasters and buttresses, built of fine burnt brick, still perfectly clean and sharp, laid in lime cement of such a tenacity, that those whose business it is, have given up working, on account of the extreme difficulty of extracting them whole. The tops of these walls are broken, and many have been much higher: On the outside they have in some places been cleared nearly to the foundations, but the internal spaces formed by them are yet filled with rubbish; in some parts almost to their summits. One part of the walls has been split into three parts, and overthrown as if by an earthquake; some detached walls of the same kind, standing at different distances, show what remains to have been only

a small part of the original fabric, indeed, it appears that the passage in the ravine, together with the wall which crosses its upper end, was connected with it. There are some hollows underneath, in which several persons have lost their lives; so that no one will now venture into them, and their entrances have become choked up with rubbish. Near this ruin is a heap of rubbish, the sides of which are curiously streaked by the alternation of its materials, the chief part of which, it is probable, was unburnt brick, of which I found a small quantity in the neighbourhood; but no reeds were discoverable in the interstices. There are two paths near this ruin, made by the workmen who carry down their bricks to the river side, whence they are transported by boats to Hillah, and a little to the north-north-east of it is the famous tree, which the natives call Athalè, and maintain to have been flourishing in ancient Babylon, from the destruction of which they say God purposely preserved it, that it might afford Ali a convenient place to tie up his horse after the battle of Hillah! It stands on a kind of ridge, and nothing more than one side of its trunk remains (by which it appears to have been of considerable girth); yet the branches at the top are still perfectly verdant, and gently waving in the wind, produce a melancholy rustling sound. It is an evergreen, something resembling the *lignum vitæ*, and of a kind, I believe, not common in this part of the country, though I am told there is a tree of the same description at Bassora. All the people of the country assert that it is extremely dangerous to approach this mound after nightfall, on account of the multitude of evil spirits by which it is haunted.

"A mile to the north of the Kasr, and nine hundred and fifty yards from the river bank, is the last ruin of this series, described by Pietro della Valle. The natives call it Mukallibè (or, according to the vulgar Arab pronunciation of these parts, Mujelibè, meaning 'overturned.') It is of an oblong shape, irregular in its height, and the measurement of its sides, which face

the cardinal points; the northern side being two hundred yards in length, the southern two hundred and nineteen; the eastern one hundred and eighty-two, and the western one hundred and thirty-six; the elevation of the south-east or highest angle, one hundred and forty-one feet. Near the summit west, appears a low wall, built of unburnt bricks, mixed up with chopped straw or reeds, and cemented with clay mortar of great thickness, having between each layer, a layer of reeds. All are worn into furrows by the weather; in some places of great depth. The summit is covered with heaps of rubbish; whole bricks with inscriptions on them are here and there discovered; the whole is covered with innumerable fragments of pottery, brick, bitumen, pebbles, vitrefied brick, or scoria, and even shells, bits of glass and mother-of-pearl. There are many dens of wild beasts in various parts, in one of which I found the bones of sheep, and other animals, and perceived a strong smell like that of a lion. I also found quantities of porcupine's quills, and in most cavities are numbers of bats and owls. It is a curious coincidence that I here first heard the oriental account of satyrs. I had always imagined the belief of their existence was confined to the west; but a Choador who was with me when I examined this ruin, mentioned by accident, that in this desert an animal is found resembling a man from the head to the waist, but having the thighs and legs of a sheep or goat; he said also, that the Arabs hunt it with dogs, and eat the lower parts, abstaining from the upper, on account of their resemblance to those of the human species. 'But the wild beast of the desert shall be there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there.' Isa. xiii. 21."

In this Mujelibè a quantity of marble was found some time since, and also a coffin of mulberry wood, containing a human body, enclosed in a tight wrapper, and apparently partially covered with bitumen. Mr. Rich, stimulated by this discovery,

again commenced his investigations, and with the following results:—

"The men dug into a shaft or hollow pier, sixty feet square, lined with fine brick laid in bitumen, and filled up with earth: in this they found a brass spike, some earthen vessels, one of which was very thin, and had the remains of white varnish on the outside, and a beam of date-tree wood. On the third day's work they made their way into the opening, and discovered a narrow passage nearly ten feet high, half filled with rubbish, flat on the top, and exhibiting both burnt and unburnt bricks; the former with inscriptions on them, and the latter, as usual, laid with a layer of reeds between every row, except in one or two courses near the bottom, where they were cemented with bitumen—a curious and unaccountable circumstance. This passage appeared as if it originally had a lining of fine burnt brick, cemented with bitumen to conceal the unburnt brick, of which the body of the building was principally composed. Fronting it is another passage (or rather a continuation of the same to the eastward, in which direction it probably extends to a considerable distance, perhaps even all along the northern front of the Mujelibè), choked up with earth: in digging out which I discovered, near the top, a wooden coffin, containing a skeleton in high preservation. Under the head of the coffin was a round pebble; attached to the coffin, on the outside, a brass bird, and inside, an ornament of the same material, which had apparently been suspended to some part of the skeleton. These, could any doubt remain, place the antiquity of the skeleton beyond all dispute. This being extracted, a little further in the rubbish was found the skeleton of a child; and it is probable that the whole of the passage, whatever its extent may be, was occupied in a similar manner. No skulls were found either here or in the sepulchral urns at the bank of the river."

So much for the eastern side of the river. The western side affords no remains immediately adjacent

to the river; but about six miles north-west of Hillah is a vast mass, called by the Arabs Birs Nimroud, of which Mr. Rich gives the following description:—

"I visited the Birs under circumstances peculiarly favourable to the grandeur of its effect. The morning was at first stormy, and threatened a severe fall of rain; but as we approached the object of our journey, the heavy cloud separating discovered the Birs frowning over the plain, and presenting the appearance of a circular hill, crowned by a tower, with a high ridge extending along the foot of it. It being entirely concealed from our view during the first part of our ride, prevented our acquiring the gradual idea, in general so prejudicial to effect, and so particularly lamented by those who visit the pyramids. Just as we were within the proper distance, it burst at once upon our sight in the midst of rolling masses of thick, black clouds, partially obscured by that kind of haze whose indistinctness is one great cause of sublimity, whilst a few strong catches of stormy light thrown upon the desert in the background, served to give some idea of the immense extent and dreary solitude of the wastes in which this venerable ruin stands. It is a mound of an oblong figure, the total circumference of which is seven hundred and sixty-two yards. At the eastern side it is not more than fifty or sixty feet high; at the western, it rises in a conical figure to one hundred and ninety-eight feet; and on its summit is a solid pile of brick, thirty-seven feet high by twenty-eight in breadth, diminishing in thickness to the top, which is irregular. It is built of fine burnt bricks, which have inscriptions on them, laid in lime mortar of admirable cement. The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work, of no determinate figure, tumbled together and converted into solid vitrefied masses, as if they had undergone the fiercest fire, or been blown up with gunpowder, the layers of bricks being perfectly discernible —a curious fact, and one for which I am utterly inca-

pable of accounting. The whole of this mound is itself a ruin, channelled by the weather, and strewed with the usual fragments, and with pieces of black stone, sandstone, and marble. No reeds are discernible in any part. At the foot of the mound a step may be traced, scarcely elevated above the plain, exceeding in extent by several feet the base; and there is a quadrangular enclosure round the whole, as at the Mujelibè, but much more perfect, and of greater dimensions. At a trifling distance from the Birs, and parallel with its eastern face, is a mound not inferior to the Kasr in elevation; much longer than it is broad. Round the Birs are traces of ruins to a considerable extent."

Superstition and credulity have, in later times, invested these ruins with a grim solemnity that heightens the sadness of the reflections they inspire; and the words of prophecy have been realised in the fictitious terrors which have been superadded to the intrinsic gloominess of the whole district. Speaking of the tower of Babel, the old traveller. Sir John Maundeville,[1] has observed: "It is full long since any man dare approach to the tower; for it is all desert, and full of dragons and great serpents, and infested by divers venomous beasts." And such reports, as Layard found reason to know, tended to heighten the "vague mystery attaching to remains like these, which induces travellers to examine them with more than ordinary interest, and even with some degree of awe."[2]

We must now bid farewell to the ruins of Babylon, lamenting that our historical information respecting the days of her greatness is so limited. But, varying as are the narratives that set forth the valiant deeds and magnificent works of the Titan-like race of Nimrod, the curse of idolatry imprints its iron footsteps on every spot that bears witness to their efforts. Sabaisur had

[1] Early Travels in Palestine, by Wright, p. 147. This is a convenient and popular edition, but to modernize the quaint language of old Maundeville displays very questionable taste.

[2] Layard, Introduction, p. xxi.



perverted their minds, vanity and cruelty had completed the work that an idolatrous casting off of God had begun; and in the doubtful obscurity which shrouds the remains of this doomed city, we read a gloomy satire on the helplessness of Man when he has forgotten his Maker.

NINEVEH.

BEFORE I present my reader with a sketch of t great discoveries which have already associated t name of Layard with these pages, I shall first c attention to the scriptural notices whence our earli knowledge of Nineveh is derived.

Ninus, the first king of Nineveh, is repeatedly cc founded by pagan historians with Nimrod, and ev with Noah himself.[1] It is possible that the hypothe which makes Nimrod the founder, treasured as it in the superstitious remembrance of the Arabs to tl day, is of the same probability as that which assig the foundation of Babylon to Belus; while Nin appears in the same light as Nebuchadnezzar, as t prince to whom the primitive city owed its chief pow and magnificence.[2] As Babylon was the capital of t Chaldean, so was Nineveh of the Assyrian empi And as Nineveh rivalled Babylon in splendour a renown, so did it vie with it in wickedness, emulate i contempt of God, provoke the same fearful judgmer and leave its buried ruins as memorials of its crime a punishment.

As I write the history of Nineveh as a city, and n in its relation to the Assyrian empire, I may be excus entering into the chronological difficulties with whic like that of the other half mythical founders of gre

[1] Layard, v. ii. p. 223.

[2] I am inclined to adopt the *marginal* reading of Genesis 11, although the existence of an idol under the name of Ath (see Layard, ib. p. 211 and 245, note), and the application the same name to the ruins of Khorsabad, somewhat favour t *personality* of Asshur. See, however, Vaux's able summary "Nineveh and Persepolis," p. 9.



SIXETH.





NINEVEH.



cities, the history of Ninus is beset.[1] At whatever era we fix his reign, and whether we regard him as founder of a new, or establisher of an old empire, we recognise in the effects of his influence the same stern despotism, the same lust after conquest, and the same uncontrollable determination, which is the invariable characteristic of those who work great changes in the history of man.

Of the kings who succeeded him in the Assyrian empire we know little, as far as Nineveh is concerned. But the works which recent discoveries have brought to light, are sufficient to shew that the improvement and increase of Ninevite greatness was brought about by different sovereigns at periods more or less distant.[2] In the time of the prophet Jonah, it had attained a magnitude which is aptly illustrated by the quaint description of the prophet: "Now Nineveh was an exceeding great city of three days' journey. And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey."[3] Its dimensions, according to pagan authority,[4] were a hundred and fifty furlongs on the two longest sides, and ninety on the opposite, the square being four hundred and eighty furlongs, or sixty miles. In respect to

[1] The following dates, however, given by Clinton, and adopted by Layard, p. 217, will doubtless be useful to the reader:—

	YEARS.	B.C.
Ninus		2182
Assyrian Monarchy 1306 years before the Empire	675	1912
During the Empire, 24 kings	526	1237
(Sardanapalus, B.C. 876.)		
After the Empire, 6 kings	105	711
	1306	
Capture of Nineveh		606

[2] See Layard, v. ii. p. 226, and elsewhere. He considers that there were at least two distinct Assyrian dynasties; "the first commencing with Ninus, and ending with the Sardanapalus of history, and the second, including the later kings mentioned in Scripture, up to the destruction of Nineveh by the combined armies of Persia and Babylon.

[3] Jon. iii. 3, sq. [4] See Calmet, p. 556, of my edition.



its population, the language in Scripture leaves us in doubt, although the "more than six score thousand persons that could not discern between their right hand and their left hand," seem most naturally to refer to the children only,[1] presupposing, according to a common calculation, an average population of six hundred thousand inhabitants. It must, however, be recollected that the dimensions of an eastern city are by no means a guide to determining the amount of its population. Large open spaces, pleasure-grounds, and gardens, are constantly found within the walls, while the seclusion in which the female sex are kept, renders a separate dwelling necessary for each family.

This "great city," as it is repeatedly styled by the prophet, had in his days risen to a pitch of luxury and wickedness which had "come up before God." But the mercy shewn in the sending of Jonah, and the ready reception with which that prophet met, are facts that seem to prove a greater predisposition to repentance and a less hardened proneness to idolatry, than the haughty Babylonians had displayed. A solemn fast was proclaimed, and the humbled Ninevites sought their peace with God—prostrate in sackcloth and ashes. "And God saw their works that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not."[2]

But, although the Divine vengeance was delayed, and although the people for a time hearkened to the prophet who had been sent to awaken them from their slumber of sinfulness, the besetting sin of idolatry, with its accompanying host of evil pleasures, licentiousness, and contempt of the true God, again gained ground. To what extent their first defeat under Arbaces and

[1] This is somewhat confirmed by the addition of "and much cattle," for the children, wives, cattle, and goods, are commonly reckoned together, in such enumerations, independently of the men. Thus in Cæs. B.G. i. 2, "civitati persuasis, ut de finibus suis cum omnibus copiis (πανδημεί, as in Deut. xiii. 16) exirent.

[2] Jon. iii. 10.

Belesis[1] may have humbled their haughtiness, we cannot tell. But that the second siege under Cyaxares, king of Persia and Media, and Nabopolassar, king of Babylon,[2] proved the decisive blow to all their greatness, is the concurrent statement of history. So decisive was the ruin, that "although the earlier prophets frequently allude to the great city, and to its wealth and power before its fall, the latter never mention its name, except in allusion to the heap of ruins—to the desolation which was spread over the site of a once great city, as a special instance of the Divine vengeance."

When Xenophon, about 400 B.C., passed by the spot in his retreat with the ten thousand Greeks, so utterly ruined was Nineveh, that he knew not that the mounds of earth and rubbish he saw and described covered the once-renowned city; and his predecessor, Herodotus, knew as little of the existence even of its ruins. At a later period, the witty Lucian bears witness to the absence of any vestiges of the doomed city.

To give any idea of the wealth and power which the Ninevites must have possessed, I must refer my readers to the sculptures,[3] which the untired, though ill-supported, zeal of Layard has brought to light. In these the habits, arts and sciences, costumes, and life of the Ninevites, whether in peace or in war, stand vividly before us. Rough and primitive as is the school of art to which they belong, they carry the unquestionable marks of a high progress in civilization, and a knowledge not only of the necessary arts of life, but of its refinements and cultivation. The luxurious costumes, the proud processions, the ceremonious cortège of the eastern monarchs, all find their place in

[1] "Or more probably governor of that city on behalf of the Assyrian monarch."—Layard, ii. p. 159.

[2] Layard, l. c.

[3] Now in the British Museum. But the most agreeable way of studying them is in the magnificent plates published by Mr. Murray, together with Layard's own description. The noble folios of Botta also claim careful attention.

the sculptures of Nimroud. By their colossal dimensions we are enabled to estimate the length of the halls and galleries, whose walls they lined. The immense winged bulls, with their human visages, resembling the anomalous figures discovered at Persepolis,[1] or the cherubim-forms pictured in the extatic visions of Ezekiel,[2] formed the stately entrances to the apartments, and aptly symbolized the might of the monarchs who passed and repassed, day after day, with all the paraphernalia of oriental splendour. Vast sphinxes, as in the temples and along the colonnades of Egypt, and hawk-headed human figures, served to typify the supremacy of royalty, and added a grotesque variety to the solemn stateliness of the other groups. Crowds of smooth-chinned eunuchs, of servants laden with dainties, or with the spoils of the vanquished, hunting-parties fully equipped, the chieftain, with full-drawn bow, hurrying along in his chariot to the scene of war, or followed by a train of captives; these were the subjects which adorned the alabaster-lined walls of the palaces at Nineveh. Nor were the charms of painting and gilding wanting.[3] The images "portrayed with vermillion" "exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads,"[4] are recalled to our minds by the traces of colour everywhere visible on these sculptures.

Among the many details of the ordinary matters of common life with which these fragments have made us acquainted, we find representations of the pulley, arranged in the same manner as our own, and the operation of moving a block of stone on a cart drawn by men. The beautifully flowing robes, edged with fringes and tassels, and elaborately embroidered, confirm our ideas of the proverbial magnificence of the "Assyrian

[1] See the plates in the Universal History, vol. iv.

[2] Ezek. i., which well deserves comparison with the 1st Homily of St. Macarius.

[3] Cf. Layard, ii. p. 307, sqq. The frontispiece to the folio plates will give the reader an excellent idea of a Nineveh palace, according to a probable restoration by Mr. Owen Jones.

[4] Ezek. xxiii. 14, sq. See Layard, l. c. *note*.

garments," and prove that the Ninevites rivalled their neighbours in taste for dress, both in the costliness of the materials, and the delicacy of the workmanship. Necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and ear-rings of various design, are profusely displayed, and even the arms are richly decorated. The umbrella or parasol, and the chair of state, the usual accompaniments of oriental royalty, both closely resemble those of modern times. The minute and neat trimming and arrangement of beard, and the dyed eyebrows, bear witness to the voluptuous indolence and personal vanity of this people in their moments of relaxation; while the accurate details of armour, and of the operations of warfare, present a life-like picture of the bravery and rough energy which had raised them to the greatness they so ill knew how to preserve.

I cannot better close this description of Nineveh in its greatness, than by a quotation from Layard's picturesque recapitulation of the disinterred remains.

"We descend into the principal trench, by a flight of steps rudely cut into the earth, near the western face of the mound, and at a depth of about twenty feet, we suddenly find ourselves between a pair of colossal lions, winged and human-headed, forming a portal. Before these wonderful forms, Ezekiel, Jonah, and others of the prophets stood, and Sennacherib bowed; even the patriarch Abraham himself may possibly have bowed.

"Leaving behind us a small chamber, in which the sculptures are distinguished by a want of finish in the execution; and considerable rudeness in the design of the ornaments, we issue from between the winged lions, and enter the remnants of the principal hall. On both sides of us are sculptured gigantic winged figures; some with the heads of eagles, others entirely human, and carrying mysterious symbols in their hands. To the left is another portal, also formed by winged lions. One of them has, however, fallen across the entrance, and there is just room to creep beneath it. Beyond

this portal is a winged figure, and two slabs with bas-reliefs; but they have been so much injured, that we can scarcely trace the subject upon them. Further on, there are no traces of wall, although a deep trench has been opened. The opposite side of the hall has also disappeared, and we only see a high wall of earth. On examining it attentively, we can detect the marks of masonry; and we soon find that it is a solid structure, built of bricks of unbaked clay, now of the same colour as the surrounding soil, and scarcely to be distinguished from it.

"The slabs of alabaster, fallen from their original position, have, however, been raised: and we tread in the midst of a maze of small bas-reliefs, representing chariots, horsemen, battles, and sieges. Perhaps the workmen are about to raise a slab for the first time; and we watch with eager curiosity what new event of Assyrian history, or what unknown custom or religious ceremony, may be illustrated by the sculpture beneath.

"Having walked about one hundred feet amongst these scattered monuments of ancient history and art, we reach another doorway formed by gigantic winged bulls in yellow limestone. One is still entire, but its companion is fallen, and is broken into several pieces—the great human head is at our feet.

"We pass on without turning into the part of the building to which this portal leads. Beyond it we see another winged figure, holding a graceful flower in its hand, and apparently presenting it as an offering to the winged bull. Adjoining this sculpture we find eight fine bas-reliefs. There is the king, hunting and triumphing over the lion and the wild bull; and the siege of the castle, with the battering ram. We have now reached the end of the hall, and find before us an elaborate and beautiful sculpture, representing two kings, standing beneath the emblem of the supreme deity, and attended by winged figures. Between them is the sacred tree. In front of this bas-relief is the great stone platform, upon which, in days of old, may have been

placed the thrones of the Assyrian monarch, when he received his captive enemies, or his courtiers.

"To the left of us is a fourth outlet from the hall, formed by another pair of lions. We issue from between them, and find ourselves on the edge of a deep ravine, to the north of which rises, high above us, the lofty pyramid. Figures of captives bearing objects of tribute; ear-rings, bracelets, and monkeys, may be seen on walls near this ravine; and two enormous bulls, and two winged figures above fourteen feet high, are lying on its very edge.

"As the ravine bounds the ruins on this side, we must return to the yellow bulls. Passing through the entrance formed by them, we enter a large chamber surrounded by eagle-headed figures: at one end of it is a doorway, guarded by two priests or divinities, and in the centre another portal with winged bulls. Whichever way we turn, we find ourselves in the midst of a nest of rooms; and without an acquaintance with the intricacies of the place, we should soon lose ourselves in this labyrinth. The accumulated rubbish being generally left in the centre of the chambers, the whole excavation consists of a number of narrow passages, panelled on one side with slabs of alabaster; and shut in on the other by a high wall of earth, half-buried in which may here and there be seen a broken vase, or a brick painted with brilliant colours. We may wander through these galleries for an hour or two, examining the marvellous sculptures, or the numerous inscriptions that surround us. Here, we meet long rows of kings, attended by their eunuchs and priests; there, lines of winged figures, carrying fir-cones and religious emblems, and seemingly in adoration before the mystic tree. Other entrances, formed by winged lions and bulls, lead us into new chambers. In every one of them are fresh objects of curiosity and surprise. At length, wearied, we issue from the buried edifice by a trench on the opposite side to that by which we entered, and find ourselves again upon the naked platform. We look around in

vain for any traces of the wonderful remains we have just seen, and are half inclined to believe that we have dreamed a dream, or have listened to some tale of Eastern romance."[1]

The present condition of Nineveh is a marvellous illustration of the fulfilment of prophecy. Shapeless mounds, defying, by their want of anything like a definite form, the description of the traveller, cover the ruins of those vast palaces, in which the Assyrian monarchs once revelled in the luxurious impiety of oriental despotism. But whilst we read the narratives which research developes from an almost unknown character — whilst we contemplate the disentombed sculptures which seem to rise up as mute apparitions of the past, we are deeply impressed with the sad conviction, that "now is Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness; and flocks lie down in the midst of her; all the beasts of the nations, both the cormorant and the bittern lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice rings in the windows, and desolation is in the threshold."[2]

[1] Vol. ii. p. 110, sqq.

[2] Zeph. ii. 13, sq.





THEBES.







THEBES.

WERE we to rely on any of the traditions which, like the Chinese system of eclipse-chronology, carry the earlier dynasties of Egypt up to a period of antiquity which is lost in mythical indistinctness, we should ill be justified in treating of Thebes after Babylon and Nineveh, which would be modern cities compared with the royal centres of primitive Egyptian power. But the early mention of those cities in Scripture justifies our preference; and until we can find more details respecting the connection of Thebes with the earlier history of Egypt, as detailed in the sacred volume, we must leave the relative antiquity of these cities an open question.

That the Scriptural name[1] of Thebes connects it with the Ethiopian worship of the god Ammon, cannot be denied, and it is equally certain that such a religious connection, supported as it is by community of language,[2] favours the supposition that Thebes, the metropolis of Egypt in its glory, must have been of Ethiopian origin. Nevertheless, making allowance for the occasional, and sometimes systematic, coincidence between the works of art and the architecture of these nations, the line of demarcation must have been drawn at a very early period, and the separation between the descendants of Ham, gives great latitude to the chronology of the subsequent foundation, enlargement, and political aggrandizement of the cities to

[1] No, or No-Ammon. Ezek. xxx. 14-16; Nah. iii. 8; Jer. xlvi. 25. But in this last instance, Gesenius and others consider that the *God*, and not the city, is meant.

[2] Long. Egyptian Antiquities, v. i. p. 96.

to the character of Sesostris, and the exigencies of his territory, they still present a blending of the character of a Numa with that of a Napoleon, a consideration for private rights, strangely united with an eagerness for acquisition, which perhaps distinguishes Sesostris, even in our imperfect conception of his character and motives, from the other half-romantic conquerors of the human race.

Chronologists are tolerably agreed in fixing the epoch of Sesostris to about 1500 B.C., upwards of a century earlier than the date assigned him by Herodotus.[1] To this glorious period, it is probable that the noblest works of Egyptian art, the temples, the statues, the obelisks of Thebes belong, and that the "hundred-gated" city existed in the fulness of its might and splendour, from about 1600 B.C. till the Ethiopian invasion of Sabaco, about 800 B.C.

It is during this period, then, that we must contemplate Thebes in its magnificence. So rich are we in the representations of Egyptian greatness which abound in this district, that vast volumes have been filled with the bare outlines of gigantic ruins, and whole folios dedicated to the equally sketchy details of a single temple.

Modern travellers, of a very recent date,[2] agree in describing the distant prospect of the ruins of Thebes as poor and ineffective; nay, even when comparatively near, they furnish no adequate idea of the gloomy sublimity which breaks upon the view as we approach the propylon of the temple of Luxor.[3] This magnificent gateway, composed of two pyramidal propylæa, and is two hundred feet in width, and fifty-seven feet

[1] Viz. 1350 B.C.

[2] See, for instance, Viscount Castlereagh's "Journey to Damascus," vol. ii. p. 69, and compare Long's Egypt. Antiq. vol. i. p. 63. Denon, with the characteristic enthusiasm of a Frenchman, had drawn a too heightened description of the approach to Luxor.

[3] Luxor stands on the eastern side of the river, and, with Karnak on the same side, and Gournon and Medinet-Abou on *the western*, occupies the site of ancient Thebes.

above the present level of the soil. In front stood two[1] obelisks, in red granite, each eighty feet in height, and from eight to nine feet wide at the base. Between these obelisks and the propylon are two colossal statues, also of red granite, and, although buried in the ground up to the chest, measuring twenty-one and twenty-two feet to the top of the mitre. From some difference in the costume, it is supposed that one represented a male, the other a female figure.

Through the propylon, we pass into a court about 232 feet long, by 174, round which are remains of a double row of columns in various stages of decay. This court is full of earth and rubbish, chiefly owing to its present inhabitants, the Arabs, having placed part of their village within the enclosure. Passing through other pyramidal propylæa, we come to a double row of seven columns, 11½ feet in diameter. Here the axis[2] of the temple slightly changes; and we meet with a further change of the line, on entering the portico, which is composed of thirty-two pillars arranged in parallel rows. From this irregularity it has been inferred, with some probability, that the whole structure was not raised at once, but was the work of successive ages.[3] It has been, however, also supposed that the reason for this irregularity was, that the northern front might be more nearly opposite to the temple of Karnak.

The propylæa of this noble edifice are filled with sculptures, representing the triumph of some ancient monarch of Egypt over an Asiatic enemy: an event which appears to have been a favourite subject with the sculptors of Egypt. The absence of the adytum or sanctuary, as well as the different subjects of the reliefs or intaglios, which occupy the walls of this building, representing battles, hunting scenes, and similar matters, has led Heeren to consider the edifice at Luxor to have been a palace, or rather a public build-

[1] One of them has been conveyed to Paris.
[2] *i. e.* the line of direction. [3] Long, v. i. p. 86, sqq.

ing for some civil purpose. Although the temples and civil buildings of Thebes have many common features, yet the sculptures found on the former are exclusively of a religious and symbolical character. Perhaps the position of the edifice, which might seem a fitting entrance to the state offices of the royal city, may give additional support to this ingenious and probable conjecture.

But it is the remains of Karnak which alike defy comparison and description. Champollion has enthusiastically observed, that "the imagination which in Europe rises far above our porticos, sinks abashed at the foot of the one hundred and forty columns of the hypostole hall of Karnak."[1]

As Karnak is pre-eminently connected with the worship of Ammon, and is, moreover, best calculated to convey some idea of the splendour of Thebes, of "populous No, that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea"[2]—a somewhat circumstantial description will, it is hoped, be acceptable.

About one mile and a quarter lower down the river, and at about 2,500 feet from its banks, are these mighty ruins, the chief portion occupying an artificial elevation, surrounded by a wall of unburnt bricks, about 5,300 yards in circuit. Within these walls are the remains of several buildings, the largest of which is contained within the enclosure, which was of sufficient extent to hold also a large tank, cased with stone, and with steps leading down to it. The chief or western front is turned towards the Nile, with which it was connected by an alley of colossal ram-headed sphinxes. At the termination of this magnificent avenue, there was probably a flight of steps leading down to the river.

[1] Westminster Review, xxviii. p. 416.

[2] Nahum iii. 8, sq. "But this, in the highly figurative language of the prophet, applies rather to Thebes as the capital of Egypt, as the representative of the whole country, than to its literal position." Robinson, in Calmet, p. 53 of the American edition.

"Here," observes Professor Long, "the devotee would land, who came from a distance to the shrine of Ammon, and, with amazement and a feeling of religious awe, would he slowly walk along between the majestic and tranquil sphinxes to the still more magnificent propyla of the building. This colossal entrance is about 360 feet long, and 198 feet high, but without sculptures; the great door in the middle is sixty-four feet in height. Passing through this doorway, he would enter a large court, occupied by a range of pillars on the north and south sides, and a double row of tall pillars running down the middle. The pillars in the middle of the entrance-court terminate opposite to two colossal statues in front of a second propylon, through which, after ascending a flight of twenty-seven steps, he would come to a large hall which has had a flat stone roof. This is the great hypostole hall of Karnak, which is supported by one hundred and thirty-four colossal pillars, there being sixteen columns running across the breadth of the building, in nine parallel rows, which, however, as we shall presently notice, offer some irregularities.

"The hypostole hall has a double row of larger pillars, twelve in number, running down the centre. Owing to the projection of a doorway or entrance from the court which succeeds the hypostole hall, there are two pillars cut off on each side from the rows of smaller pillars which are next to the larger ones. This reduces the whole number to one hundred and thirty-four, which would be one hundred and forty-four, if all the pillars were of the same size, and if there were no irregularity in the two rows nearest the centre rows on each side. The width of this magnificent hall is about 338 feet, and the length or breadth 170½ feet. It is remarkable that the great courts and chambers in some of the oldest Egyptian buildings, such as Medinet-Abou and the tomb of Osymandyas, have their width greater than their length: the entrance, in fact, is in the centre of the longest side. The area

of this prodigious hall is 57,629 square feet, on which stand the hundred and thirty-four columns, the largest near eleven feet in diameter, once supporting a roof of enormous slabs of stone. Words are inadequate to express the grandeur of conception exhibited in this design.

"The two rows of columns down the middle are larger than the rest, and were designed to support the highest parts of the roof, in the vertical sides of which small window-lights are cut. Both the pillars, walls, and propyla of this magnificent colonnade are completely covered with sculptured forms of deities."[1]

We must not, however, forget, that although there is evidence that among these monuments we must seek for the oldest and most genuine specimens of Egyptian art, they do not by any means appertain to one period of Egyptian greatness. Some parts of the temple at Luxor and of the larger building at Karnak bear traces of having been partly constructed out of the materials of a former building. This is evident from blocks of stone being found occasionally placed with the hieroglyphics inverted, and the ruins at Nineveh present similar indications. Although we find the names of Philip, Alexander, and Berenice, represented in hieroglyphical characters, and enclosed in the usual elliptical rings, we have no right to limit the antiquity of these buildings to the era of the Macedonian occupation of Egypt (B.C. 525).

Such was Thebes. Occupying a site one hundred and forty furlongs in circumference, sending forth, according to the quaint calculations of the father of Greek poetry,[2] its twice ten thousand armed chariots, yet did the curse of idolatry pursue it, and No-Ammon became the burden of the prophet, and the unhappy

[1] Egyptian Antiq. i. p. 37, sqq. On the worship of Ammon at Karnak, Cf. ibid. p. 64, and Carne's Letters from the East, vol. i. p. 150, sqq.

[2] Il. ἄι. 383.—Αἴθ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι διηκόσιοι δ'ἀν'ἑκάστην
ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.

subject of divine judgments. Some time before Nineveh fell,[1] Nahum had threatened her with the fate of No-Ammon, had bewailed the fall of the city of an hundred gates.

As Thebes in ancient times had preserved her power independently of the invasions of the shepherd kings,[2] and as she had subsequently risen to the highest pitch of greatness and prosperity, so was her fall consummated by the slow but certain destructiveness of man. Conquered by the Ethiopians, the Egyptians fell into disorder, and were but indifferently re-united under the reign of Psammetichus. The Persian conquest, in B.C. 528, under the guidance of the childish and cruel Cambyses, was naturally fraught with evil consequences to works of art, although Pliny[3] has preserved a story to the effect that Cambyses was so struck with admiration at one of the obelisks, that he ordered the flames to be quenched when they reached its base. The great population of Thebes lived chiefly in wooden huts, and the vast flames rising from so large a mass of combustible materials would crack and displace the stones even of the greatest buildings. Fire ever does for man's works what the sword does more quickly for man himself.

Under the Ptolemies, little was done to restore or embellish Thebes, and in the reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus (B.C. 86) this city rebelled, and, after a three years siege, was captured and pillaged by its offended master. But from the first blow struck by the Ethiopian Sabaco, Thebes had gradually declined. Egypt had continually kept assuming a dependent position, and this her mighty stronghold, the admiration of the world, gave up her ancient honours, and was left bare and defenceless by her degenerating inhabitants. Under the Romans it lost the last remnants of wealth or power.

The present appearance of the ruined district, bearing

[1] Prideaux, v. i. p. 32.
[2] Nude's Amenophis, or Memnon. See Egypt. Ant. i. p. 31.
[3] xxxvi. 9.

melancholy witness to the destructiveness of man and the perishable feebleness of his greatest works, is well described by a modern writer.[1] "The whole of this great extent is more or less strewed with ruins, broken columns, and avenues of sphinxes, colossal figures, obelisks, pyramidal gateways, porticoes, blocks of polished granite, and stones of extraordinary magnitude; while above them, 'in all the nakedness of desolation,' the colossal skeletons of giants' temples are standing 'in the unwatered sands, in solitude and silence. They are neither grey, nor blackened; there is no lichen, no moss, no rank grass, or mantling ivy, to robe them and conceal their deformities. Like the bones of man, they seem to whiten under the sun of the desert.' The sand of Africa has been their most fearful enemy; blown upon them for more than three thousand years, it has buried the largest monuments, and, in some instances, almost entire temples."[2]

My limits will not suffer me to enter into a description of the ruins on the western side of the river, although well deserving of notice. But we cannot quit the subject of Egypt, without entering into, at least, a brief account of Memphis and Heliopolis.

[1] Stephens's Incidents of Travel, p. 33.

MEMPHIS AND HELIOPOLIS.

BOTH these cities claim attention, as well from their former wealth and influence, as from their associations with Scripture, and from the personal visits of the earliest of Greek historians.

About ten miles south of Jizeh, where stand the great pyramids, the village of Metrahenny, half concealed in a thicket of palm trees, on the western side of the river, marks the site of the once mighty city of Memphis, the Noph of the Scriptures. It has been so much exposed to plunder from the successive conquerors of the country, who have used it as a stone-quarry, that its very site has been doubted. Various remains of the great temple of Phthâ,[1] and of other sacred buildings, are loosely scattered over an extensive space; the most interesting being some fine red granite blocks, of great size; forming portions of colossal statues long since broken to pieces.

As Thebes was the capital city of Egypt during its historical period,[2] so was Memphis for a long time its rival both as a regal city, and a seat of commerce. It also appears to have been the capital city of that portion of Egypt in or near which the Israelites were settled. As this is nearly the earliest occasion in which Egypt bears a prominent part in sacred history, a brief view of Sir Gardner Wilkinson's hypothesis cannot fail to be interesting. It must be recollected, however, that no attempt is here made to substantiate or reconcile

[1] The Vulcan of the Egyptians.

[2] I adopt Sir Gardner Wilkinson's view. See Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, v. i. p. 47, sqq. But I have been unable to furnish a complete view of his theories respecting the earlier history.

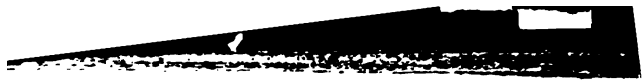
statements which labour under difficulties, the combined result of imperfect documents and extravagant chronology.

The Amosis, or Ames, who was the leader of the eighteenth or Theban Dynasty, Wilkinson supposes to have been the king under whom the oppression of the Israelites commenced. Under the old Memphite dynasty, the Jews, "who had come into Egypt on occasion of a famine, finding the great superiority of the land of Egypt, both for obtaining the necessaries of life and for feeding their flocks, may have asked and obtained a grant of land from the Egyptian monarch, on condition of certain services being performed by them and their descendants."[1] But on the accession of the Theban family under Amosis, who was probably the "new king who knew not Joseph,"[2] it would be reasonable to suppose that, coming from the distant province of Thebes, the Hebrews would be strangers to him, and that he was likely to look upon them with the same distrust and contempt with which the Egyptians usually treated foreigners. Hence, the grant being rescinded, but the service still required, the Jews were reduced to a state of bondage; and as despotism seldom respects the rights of those it injures, additional labour was imposed upon this unresisting people. And Pharaoh's pretended fear, lest, in the event of war, they might make common cause with the enemy, was a sufficient pretext with his own people for oppressing the Jews, at the same time that it had the effect of exciting their prejudices against them. Thus they were treated like the captives taken in war, and were forced to undergo the gratuitous labour of erecting public granaries, and other buildings, for the Egyptian monarch.[3]

[1] P. 48, sqq.

[2] Others, as Greppo, identify this king with Ramses Meiamoun,—see Robinson's Calmet, p. 743,—others, with Osireimenphthah (Eadie's Cyclopædia, p. 459). But these theories are endless.

[3] None of the works at Thebes, however, are attributable to the Israelites.—Wilkinson, p. 50.



After the death of this and the succeeding prince, and during the reign of Thothmes I., Moses, the future regenerator of Hebrew liberty, made a first effort to resist the oppression under which his countrymen had groaned, and was compelled to take flight in order to avoid the consequences of his boldness. At the death of this king's successor, no longer dreading the wrath of the authorities, and stimulated by a heaven-supported patriotism, he returned to Egypt, and, after displaying an unexampled series of God's judgments against the callous idolatry of the heathen oppressors, he led the Israelites "out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage."

If this prince[1] were really the Pharaoh under whom the Israelites left Egypt, he was, according to the evidence of monuments, one of the most talented and prosperous monarchs previous to the supposed Augustan era of Sesostris. But these facts, according to the theory we mention, are wholly inconsistent with the supposition that he was drowned with his army in the Red Sea whilst in pursuit of the Israelites.[2] On the contrary, his greatest works appear to have been subsequent to the Exodus.

Whether, however, this view of the matter can be thought a safe one, must be decided by persons more conversant with original records than I can pretend to be; but there seems little doubt that Memphis and Thebes may have, under various vicissitudes and political changes, divided the honour of sending an absolute ruler. The supposition that two kings, of different local dynasties, reigned together at cer-

[1] *i. e.* Thothmes III. "We have ample testimonies of the extent of his power by the tributes laid at his feet by 'the chiefs of foreign countries,' who present him with the riches of 'Pount,' of 'Kufa,' of 'Rot-n-no,' and 'of the southern districts of western Ethiopia.'"—Ibid. p. 53.

[2] Wilkinson thinks that there is no scriptural authority for supposing that *the king himself* perished, but that he staid behind at Pi-Hahiroth, while his "chariots and horsemen" continued the pursuit.

tain periods of Egyptian history, has already been noticed.

In concluding this digression, we cannot fail to be struck by the coincidence between the facts of Memphis having been the grand seat of persecution against the Israelites, and the heavy weight of desolate affliction which, long since foretold, fell upon the doomed city of Noph.[1] Most agreeable was it to the Almighty's care for his own, most suited to his avenging justice, that the scene of his chosen people's humiliation should become the most signal evidence of his triumph over their enemies. Great as were his judgments against Thebes, her ruins still bear far greater marks of former magnificence than the shattered and irregular remnants of the temple which had exhausted the wealth and taste of a long succession of proud Memphite monarchs.

To Menes, the mythical founder of a regular government in Egypt, is assigned the credit of having secured the district of Memphis from the inroads of the river,[2] and built the magnificent city and temple bearing the same name. Continued additions of porticos, and ranges of colossi, augmented the dimensions and splendour of this latter edifice; and, in the days of Strabo, it was in admirable preservation. But, even in the twelfth century, if we may believe the account given by Abd-allatif, Memphis extended half a day's journey in every direction; and, despite the mutilation of its statues, and the immense mass of materials that had been carried off for building, "its ruins offer to the spectator a union of things which confound him, and

[1] Isa. xix. 13; Jer. ii. 16; xlvi. 14 and 19; Ezek. xxx. 13 and 16.

[2] Herodot. ii. 39, sq. It is as well to remind the younger reader that the Greek or Latin names of deities are but indifferent equivalents to the originals they are intended to represent. Vulcan is by no means identical with Phthâ, but is merely a correlative adapted from the Grecian mythology. The scarabæus or beetle, so often found even of a colossal size, was the favourite symbol of the principle of pure, eternal fire. —See Long's Egypt. Ant. ii. p. 313.

which the most eloquent man in vain would attempt to describe. As to the figures of idols found among these ruins, whether we consider their number or their prodigious size, the thing is beyond description. But the accuracy of their forms, the justness of their proportions, and their resemblance to nature, are most worthy of admiration. I measured one which, without its pedestal, was more than thirty cubits; its breadth from right to left was about ten cubits, and, from front to back, it was thick in proportion. This statue was formed of a single piece of red granite, and was covered with a red varnish, to which its antiquity seemed only to give a new freshness."[1]

Memphis was one of the grand stations of idolatrous worship, and here the bull Apis was bred, nurtured, and honoured with all the splendour which Asiatic superstition lavished upon the representatives of their miscalled deities.[2] Here were the images, which the Lord was one day to "cause to cease,"[3] depicted by the careful and artistic chisel of the sculptor, heightened by brilliant colours, and adored with all the vain pomp and luxury with which men mocked their own senses, and symbolized their vilest passions. But the dream of idolatry has passed away, the grand all-enwrapping mists of ungodliness have melted into air before the Sun of Truth, and the Christian traveller mingles pity with his wonder, as he looks upon these splendid baubles of the old world, these playthings which Time and Truth have united in breaking.

Of HELIOPOLIS,[4] the City of the Sun, we have still less to remind us of former magnificence. About six miles north-east of Cairo, a solitary obelisk,[5] some remains of sphinxes on a road leading to the site of

[1] De Sacy.—For this quotation I am indebted to Professor Long, vol. i. p. 52.

[2] See Egypt. Ant. v. ii. p. 289. [3] Ezek. xxx. 13.

[4] The On of Gen. xli. 45, or the Aven of Ezek. xxx. 17; it is now occupied by the village of Matarieh.

[5] See a brief description in Long, vol. i. p. 316, sqq.

the ruins, with some fragments of a colossal statue, are all that now attest the existence of the renowned temple, the centre of the worship of the bull Mnevis, and the sacerdotal college most pre-eminent for the learning of its priests and the antiquity of its records. To here, as to Memphis, did Herodotus resort for information. The complete execution and arrangement of the hieroglyphics on the obelisk still standing, which is probably one of the most ancient existing monuments of Egyptian art, prove that Heliopolis had at an early period arrived at a degree of social refinement and taste for knowledge that made it not a whit behind the less forgotten cities of Thebes and Memphis.

But the most interesting associations connected with this ancient city are those derived from the beautiful and simple story of Joseph's early career. According to Sir Gardner Wilkinson,[1] the king "who so generously rewarded the talents and fidelity of a Hebrew stranger," was Osirtasen I., whose reign he dates from B. C. 1740 to 1697. The name of this king, "whose encouragement of the arts of peace, and the flourishing state of Egypt during his rule, evince his wisdom, is found inscribed on the obelisk which now remains; and to him, without doubt, Heliopolis owed much of its greatness. Joseph married a daughter of a "priest of On," and it was probably in this city that his affecting meeting with his brethren took place. Nevertheless, Heliopolis was involved in the common curse of idolatry,[2] and, even in the time of Abd-allatif, destruction had well nigh finished its work.

We may conclude this brief notice by a few observations on the progress of arts and luxury as set forth in the Sacred Volume, and evidenced in the sculptures and paintings of the cities of Egypt. Whilst the Hebrews had remained a pastoral people, with little

[1] Vol. i. p. 43.

[2] Pronounced against it, under its name of Bethshemesh, by Jer. xliii. 13.

knowledge of the refinements of life, and but moderate progress towards their attainment, the Egyptians, as early as the sojourn of the Lord's people in Egypt, had acquired a knowledge of the amenities of life which was already beginning to tend towards degenerate luxury. Possessed of fertile invention—the common property of the descendants of Ham—ready in their application of inventions, and endued with an imitative skill, that, while it adorned the walls and columns of their temples and palaces with a thousand images suggested by nature or fancy, turned man to creature-worship, and substituted deaf and dumb idols for the all-powerful and all-seeing Maker of heaven and earth.

We find, from very early data, that the Hebrews had, nevertheless, acquired some taste for the ornaments[1] of the person, and that their wealth consisted as well of gold and silver[2] as of sheep and oxen; yet, it seems likely that such a taste was acquired from their intercourse with the Egyptians, with whom they were on friendly terms at an equally early period.[3] That their taste for works of art, and even the designs from which their ornaments were taken, were derived from a similar source, will appear highly probable, if we recollect that many of the symbolical decorations of the tabernacle have much in common with those of Egyptian origin, and that, in their subsequent relapses into idolatry, these Israelites made choice of gods after the fashion of those they had seen during their sojourn in Egypt. And that such a taste was matured and strengthened by the enlightened policy of Joseph, appears both natural in itself, and agreeable to his high position and influence. "The objects taken to Egypt by the Ishmaelites—consisting in spices, balm, and myrrh, which were intended for the purposes of luxury as well as of religion—shew the advanced state of society at this early epoch; and from the sculptures

[1] Gen. xxiv. 22. [2] Gen. xiii. 2.
[3] Gen. xii. 14, sqq.

of Beni-Hassan,[1] we also learn that the Egyptians were acquainted with the manufacture of linens, glass, cabinet work, gold ornaments, and numerous objects indicative of art and refinement; and various gymnastic exercises, the games of draughts, ball, and other well-known modern amusements, were common at the same period. The style of architecture was grand and chaste, and the fluted columns of Beni-Hassan are of a character calling to mind the purity of the Doric."[2]

[1] Grottos on the east bank of the Nile, near the cave of Diana.

[2] Wilkinson, vol. i. p. 43, sqq.

PERSEPOLIS.

"An exalted God is Auramazda,
Who created this earth and yonder heaven,
Who created the races of men, and who
Brought forth to light their mightiness;
Who made Darius a ruler,
An alone-reigning king over many,
An alone-ruling commander over thousands.

"I am Darius, King exalted,
King of Kings,
King of all nation-enclosing territories,
King of this exalted earth, near and far,
Son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, a Persian,
Son of an Arian,[1] myself an Arian, distributor of honours!

"Darius the King lets this sound forth:—
By the grace of Auramazda, I these
Following regions have conquered,
Besides the Persian country. I am
To be revered of them; to me they have portioned forth tribute;
Every command of mine have they fulfilled; and my law
Was respected of them:—

"Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria,
Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia,
Zarangia, Arachotia, Sattagydia, Gandaria,
Scindia, the Imaus-dwelling Sacae, the Sacae,
Drinkers in of the founts of Tigris, Babylonia, Assyria,
Arabia, Mythraya (Ægyptia), Armenia,
Cappadocia, Sparta, Ionia, the oversea-residing Sacae,
The Skhudrii (? Scyths), the Ionians of Tauros, the Budians,
The Khuschiyae,[2] the Madiyae, the Chalcidians.

---

[1] Exalted personage.

[2] Benfey suggests that these were the Gaudæ on the Ister, Rawlinson translates, "the Cossæans;" I think them to be the Æthiopians or Cushites. See their notes on all this obscure geography.—K. R. H. M.

" Darius the King lets this sound afar.—
When Auramazda
Beheld this earth
Afar from what was
Right, as a king it pleased him
To constitute me. I am King
By the grace of Auramazda;
I have ordered them again to healthiness.
What I directed them to do, that
Did they as it seemed good unto me;
Whatever entered into my mind,
Commanded I those nations to perform;
Those nations reigned over by Darius.

* * * * *

" If you hold carefully the sculpture[1]
It brings you comfort,
If you wilfully damage it,
Heirlessness shall be your part,
Afar off from the Persians. * * *
Passed away shall be the inheritance;
Afar off shall dwindle the Persians!
Up Persians, and castigate sinfulness!

" This is sounded afar of Darius
The king:—What I have completed is by the grace of Auramazda,
May thou protect me and my work
And my nations and these territories! This I
Entreat of Auramazda! May Auramazda reign!

" Man! pursue uniformly the ordinances of Auramazda;
Holy precepts! Let him be thy enlightener!
Relinquish not the straight way!
Sin not! Avoid to destroy![2]

---

[1] The relief on the tomb. But see Rawlinson.—K. R. H. M.

[2] Inscription of Naksh-i-Rustam upon the monument of Darius. As neither the Latin version of Lassen, the German one of Benfey, nor the English one of Rawlinson, altogether satisfied me, I have attempted one of my own. The lines are arranged to form, as nearly as possible, line by line, a key to the original. It is given by M. Benfey in *Die Persischen Keilinschriften mit Uebersetzung und Glossar*, Leipsig, 1847, pp. 55—61, and by Rawlinson, pp. 291—311. I may as well state that the form of thanks to Auramazda (Oromanes), and the acknowledgment of his power precede most of the inscriptions of the ages of Darius (H. p. 52; N. R. b [the smaller inscription on this same tomb] p. 61; O. p. 62), of Xerxes (A.

Such are the strains in which the Persians of old celebrated the glories of their nation under the reign of Darius Hystaspis. This triumphal Pæan, which, like the Odes of the Theban Pindar, blends haughty and exulting praises of the conqueror with quaint moral saws and precepts, forms a fitting introduction to our notice of the ruined city of Persepolis. It must, however, be observed, that these ruins, although, by the height of their columns compared with the thinness of their proportions, they may seem to approximate to the slim delicacy of the Corinthian style of Grecian art, still their claims to a high school of art are less established than those of their Assyrian and Egyptian prototypes. Vaux, one of the most distinct and comprehensive writers on the subject, well points out the two distinct schools of art indicated by the monuments of ancient Persia, as those executed previous to the period of Alexander the Great, and those which are due to the monarchs of the Sassanian house."[1] Of the former class, those of Persepolis have the best claim to our attention, as well from their own magnificence, as from the complete information with which the frequent visits of travellers have furnished us.

If the reader expect to find many known historical facts connected with the history of the "Forty Pillars,"[2] as these ruins are popularly called, he will be even more disappointed than in the case of the Babylonian and

p. 63; Ca, p. 64; D. p. 65; E. p. 66; K. p. 67) and of Artaxerxes Mnemon (P. pp. 67—69) in Benfey's volume. His notes and illustrations are well worthy of careful attention, as they fulfil, even beyond expectation, the promises shadowed forth in his excellent translation of the Sanhita of the Sama Veda. To Benfey high praise is also due for his able emendations, which I have generally followed. I have since given from the Behistún inscription a list of conquered countries which it is interesting to compare with these records, and with Herodotus (iii 89—96; vii. 61—99), who, I think, must have visited the spot, and seen the inscription.

KENNETH R. H. MACKENZIE.

[1] Nineveh and Persepolis, ch. ix. p. 315.

[2] Chebel Minar is the modern name.

Assyrian remains. It nowhere appears in history in the character of a royal residence, although, as our description will presently show, their burial-place has been discovered among the caves of its neighbouring mountains. Cyrus, the regenerator of oriental power and civilization, as well as his descendants, resided alternately at Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, and chronological reasons seem to render it unlikely that Cyrus could have spent much time at, or added to the splendour of Persepolis. To Darius, son of Hystaspis, and Xerxes, recent investigations seem to assign them beyond much reason for doubt.

Assuming, then, that Persepolis owed its chief magnificence to the liberality of the former of those two kings, a brief glance at the political influence and condition of the Persians under the Persians, will perhaps form the best introduction to our notice of Persepolis in its fallen condition.

Herodotus has dwelt with much apparent accuracy upon the political acts of this prince, which present the same blending of the arts of war and peace, the same impatience for extended empire united with the same cautious conversation at home, which we find in the other chief personages of philosophical history. As in the case of Egypt, accumulated territory required a distribution of official influence, and the now large empire of Persia was divided into nineteen satrapies. Herodotus is evidently wrong in regarding this as a merely financial arrangement, made with a view to the taxation of districts, although, as has been suggested, it is not perfect as a geographical one. Places extremely distant are found ranged under one satrapy, but it seems possible that this arrangement might have resulted from a desire of conciliating the feelings of particular people, who, although distant, were best disposed to yield obedience to some leaders whose dispositions they had each previously experienced. Furthermore, such an arrangement would be fraught with little inconvenience in a country, where an organized staff of couriers per-

formed the functions of a regular post, and thus preserved uniformity by a systematic and steady conveyance of the royal despatches and edicts. By such means the natural tendency to revolt, to which we have before referred in the case of other mixed populations of the east, was efficiently curbed, one province being made a comparative restraint upon its neighbour. During such a reign, it is fair to suppose that Persepolis was second to none of the leading cities; nay more, it may have been the leading scene of the conquering Darius.

But the victorious career of this prince was destined to end with the doubtful campaign against the Scythians. Returning with a partial success, his latter days were clouded by the revolt of Egypt, and by the grand blow struck by the defeat of the Persians at Marathon, on September 29, B.C. 490. His death left the puerile Xerxes heir to a throne he could ill support, but whose contributions to the palace of Persepolis, left unfinished by his father, are perhaps his best claim to mention in the present essay.

We may now proceed to give some idea of the ruins of the magnificence which the united testimony of ancient writers has assigned to the great fallen city of Persepolis. The voice of so eloquent and so accurate an eye-witness as Sir Robert Ker Porter,[1] must tell its own tale:—

"On drawing near to the Chebel Minar, or Palace of Forty Pillars, the eye is riveted by the grandeur and beautiful decorations of the flights of steps which lead up to them. This superb approach consists of a double staircase, projecting considerably before the northern face of the terrace, the whole length of which is 212 feet; and at each extremity, east and west, rises another range of steps; again, about the

[1] I must, however, remind my readers of the excellent information collected from Le Brun and Chardin, in the fourth volume of the Universal History. Eadie's improved Early Oriental History, and Vaux's judicious compilation, are my other main sources of information.

middle, and projecting from it eighteen feet, appear two smaller flights, rising from the same points, where the extent of the range, including a landing-place of twenty feet, amounts to eighty-six feet. The ascent, like that of the great entrance from the plain, is extremely gradual: each flight containing only thirty-two low steps, none exceeding four inches in height, fourteen inches in breadth, and sixteen feet in length. The whole front of the advanced range is covered with sculpture. The eye at first roves over it, lost in the multitude of figures, and bewildered by the thronging ideas instantly associated with the crowd of various interesting objects before it. The space immediately under the landing-place is divided into three compartments. The centre one has a plain surface, as if intended for an inscription; probably writing may have been there which is now obliterated. To the left of it are four standing figures, about five feet six inches high, habited in long robes, with brogues like buskins on their feet. They each hold a short spear in an upright position in both hands. The fluted flat-topped cap, before described on other bas-reliefs, is on their heads; and from the left shoulder hangs their bow and quiver. On the right of the vacant tablet are three figures only. They look towards the opposite four, and differ in no way, with respect to their robes and fluted helmet; but they have neither bows nor quiver, carrying their spear only, with the addition of a large shield on the left arm, something in the shape of a violoncello; or rather, I should say, exactly in the form of a Bœotian buckler. Two angular spaces, on each side of the corresponding groups of spearmen described on the surface of the staircase, are filled with duplicate representations of a fight between a lion and a bull, a most spirited and admirable performance.[1] . . . . From the circumstance of a collar

[1] It is worthy of remark how constantly, in the Tunis version of the Arabian Nights (edited by Maximilian Habicht, at Leipzig), *this* fighting of lions and bulls, and lions and tigers, are brought

round the neck of the bull, it proves him to be no wild one, and that we are not to understand the combat as accidental: but whether it may be received as a proof that such combats were brought forward before the Persian people, is another question. That wild animals, of the untameable sort, were not merely hunted by the bold spirits of these eastern princes, but preserved near their palaces, is evident from the lions' den which we find at Babylon after its conquest by Cyrus;[1] but by no accounts that I can recollect, does it appear that beasts so immured were ever used for sport of any kind after their first capture. On the inclined plains, corresponding with the slope of the stairs, runs a kind of frieze, on which is cut a line of figures, one foot nine inches high, answering in number to the steps, each one of which appears to form a pedestal for its relative figure. The figures themselves appear to be a lengthened rank of those already described on each side of the blank tablet: and a similar range runs up the opposite slope.

"The immense space of the upper platform stretches to the north and south 350 feet, and from east to west 380 feet; the greater part of which is covered with broken capitals, shafts, and pillars, and countless fragments of building: some of which are richly ornamented with the most exquisite sculpture. The pillars were arranged in four divisions, consisting of a centre group six deep every way, and an advanced body of twelve, in two ranks, and the same number flanking the centre. The first is to the north: it is composed of two parallel lines of six columns in each, falling twenty feet back from the landing-place of the stairs, and meeting the eye immediately on ascending them. The columns are at equal distances from one another.

about by enchantment. The stationary condition of ideas in the East is forcibly illustrated by the circumstance of the same animals being depicted on the ancient sculpture, and described in the eastern fairy tale.—KENNETH R. H. MACKENZIE.

[1] Cf. also Daniel vi. 19, where it is plain that the lions' den is not very far from the palace.—KENNETH R. H. MACKENZIE.

One only still stands; the shattered bases of nine others still remain, but the places only are left of the other two, which completed the colonnade. Of the remaining columns, which once decorated these colonnades, nine only now stand, the rest have been totally destroyed, or lie buried under masses of ruins, now forming hillocks. The front of the columns is very beautiful; their total height is sixty feet, the circumference of the shaft sixteen, and its length, from the capital to the torus, forty-four feet. The shaft is finely fluted in fifty-two divisions; at its lower extremity begin a cincture and a torus, the first two inches in depth, and the latter one foot, from whence devolves the pedestal, in the form of the cup and leaves of a pendant lotus. The capitals which remain, though much injured, are sufficient to shew that they were once surmounted by the double demi-bull."

The inscription which heads the present article, distinctly points to Darius Hystaspis as the prince to whom so much of this magnificence is due. Prideaux[1] has well summed up his character in the following terms:—"He was a prince of wisdom, clemency, and justice, and hath the honour to have his name recorded in Holy Writ for a favourer of God's people, a restorer of his temple at Jerusalem, and a promoter of his worship therein. For all which God was pleased to make him his instrument; and, in respect hereof, I doubt not, it was, that he blessed him with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity." There is, in fact, little doubt that Darius, like most of the conspicuous reformists of Eastern nations, was possessed of an eclectic disposition, which sought to harmonize several existing creeds with one another, rather than to claim a catholicity for a particular one. His lenity towards the Jews, like that displayed by Nebuchadnezzar, was actuated partly by political, partly by religious motives. Moreover, many anecdotes, preserved by pagan historians, attest a liberality and

[1] Connection, v. i. p. 298.

kindness which place him in a highly favourable contrast to the generality of persons possessed of absolute monarchy. But the eclecticism or tolerance of Darius is suggestive of another question, which, although not easy to answer, must find a place in our inquiries. In his reign, Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, is supposed to have first appeared; and whether he is to be regarded as the founder of a new code of religion and morality, or as the restorer and remodeller of one previously existing, there is no doubt that his character was one likely to attract the notice of Darius; whilst many of the traditions which associate his career with that of the Jewish prophets, may be accounted for under the supposition of his having lived during the life of that prince.

"The worship of the host of heaven," as Vaux[1] has well observed, "would naturally be the earliest deviation from true religion, the first step towards adopting a visible and outward object for the unseen and the inscrutable; and such was, doubtless, the Sabæan ritual, the first religion of the Magi." But although the substitution of fire as a visible object of worship went far to supersede the adoration paid to the heavenly bodies, still, the taste for observing the celestial phenomena, and the passion for the more delusive science of astrology, to which the wide open tracts of Chaldæa had given rise, and which had brought forth man's first abortive attempt to render himself independent of his Maker, pervades the eastern mind to our own day. Even Mahommedism, the reflex of the Zoroastrian imposture, has been compelled to invest its fables with cosmogonical fictions, and to yield some indulgence to the fatalism which even the reformed religion of Zoroaster tolerated and cherished.

I have not space to enter into the many conflicting theories and statements respecting the age of Zoroaster, but there is little doubt, that, as Heeren has observed, "the idea of his being contemporary with Darius has

[1] P. 106.

been somewhat hastily derived from the similarity of the names Gustasp and Hystaspis; while, on the other hand, what Zoroaster has recorded of himself in the Zend-Avesta points apparently to lands over which the authority of Darius hardly ever extended, and to a period earlier than his era."[1] But although Greek writers, living near the age of Darius, make no mention of Zoroaster, while Plato seems to have regarded him as a sage of very remote antiquity, we can scarcely omit giving some brief sketch of opinions, which, at whatever period introduced, probably exercised some influence in modifying the symbolism which the Persians had derived from their earlier instructors, the Assyrians and Egyptians.

The separate existence of good and evil in this world has been a favourite and engrossing subject with every speculative man. Intimately connected with the mainspring of his actions, indissolubly involved in the question of his present condition or future destiny, it has been, next to existence itself, the chief grand question which conjecture has sought to answer, faith has forbidden man to ask. The eastern mind, little disposed to rest even upon certainties, and ever delighting to find a field of difficulty upon which its alert ingenuity might run riot, seems, in this respect, to have exhausted its powers of speculation in arriving at too rapid conclusions, and to have surpassed the extravagance of those deductions only by the fancifulness of the theogony to which they gave birth. The Abbé Foucher well remarks that the Zend-Avesta, in its present form, "bears exactly the same reference to the books of Zoroaster that our missals and breviaries do to the Bible;" but it is at the same time probable that it presents a tolerable notion of the leading tenets of his system. An evident discouragement of fire-worship, amounting even to a denial of its antiquity as an observance,[2] distinguishes him from the corrupted Magians, and his

[1] Quoted by Vaux, p. 107.
[2] See Vaux, p. 109.

writings are devoid of anything that tends to sanction or excuse the immoralities attributed to that sect by ancient authors. He professes[1] to restore the word which Ormazd, the good spirit, had formerly revealed, and which the contrary spirit, Ahriman, and his corrupt followers, had degraded and defiled by a system of magical superstitions. At the same time, Prideaux, and many equally learned authorities, believe that fire-worship was freely inculcated and practised by Zoroaster, and regard him as an adventurer and impostor. In fact, like the Doctor Faustus of our childish days, Zoroaster appears to have formed the nucleus of all the absurd and contradictory stories which, in an imperfect state of the means of communicating knowledge, invest every professor of, or pretender to, powers beyond the ordinary range of human intellect, with an interest perhaps but little deserved.

To return from this digression, Darius, whether he may claim the credit of having made some advance, or at least alteration, in the religious creed of the Persians, must undoubtedly stand forth as having established the empire upon a magnificent and well-organised footing. We have already referred to the political arrangements which philosophized the government of his vast dominions, and to the reasons which favour the claims of Persepolis to be regarded as one of the royal cities. We will now enter upon a subject fraught with equal historical interest, namely, the rock of Behistún, the sculptured chronicle of the glories of this prince's reign.

Behistún[2] is situated on the western frontier of Media, on the highroad from Babylonia to the eastward. It forms an imposing object in the plain around, rising abruptly from it to the height of some 1700 feet. Its imposing aspect, as Rawlinson observes, made it a fit

[1] See Zend-Avesta, quoted in Kitto's Cyclopædia, v. ii. p. 287.

[2] This account is condensed from Major Rawlinson's description, in the tenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 187—194.

place to be used as a "holy of holies" by the race whose worship was upon the mound, and whose altar was the peak of the rock. According to Diodorus[1] it was sacred to [the Persian] Zeus, by which we must understand their supreme deity, as Rawlinson in his observations has suggested.

"It was, in fact," says he, "named *Bagistane*, 'the place of the Baga,' referring unquestionably to Ormazd, who, as the chief of the *Bagas* (a word which I conceive to have been nearly equivalent to the Homeric Θεός), would of course appropriate the title to himself."

On this rock, sacred in the religious belief of his nation, and therefore certain of preservation as long as their religion remained unchanged, Darius Hystaspis, actuated by a motive of no mean nature, determined to execute a work, which, telling a "plain unvarnished tale," should serve as a memorial no less of himself and his deeds, as well as it has proved one of his nation, and their language and history. Like the inscriptions by which Sesostris told the story of his victories, it speaks boldly out in the first person, an egotism highly characteristic of Oriental vanity, and found even in the oft-quoted epigram of the effeminate Sardanapalus. To the kindness of my friend Mackenzie, I am indebted for the following version of a portion of this inscription, and for the historical epitome of this charter of Darius:—

"I am Darius, King exalted, King of Kings,
King of the Persians, Monarch of the Satrapies; of Vashtaspa (Hystaspes)
The Son; of Arshâma (Arsames) the Grandson; of the race of Hakhâmanish (Achæmenes).

"Darius the Monarch declareth:—My father was Vashtaspa; of Vashtaspa the father
Was Arshâma; the Arshamaæan father was Ariyâramna (Ariyaramnes); the Ariyaramnaæn father
Was Chishpish (Teispes); the Chishpishæan
Father was Hakhâmanish.

[1] Lib. ii. 13.

"Darius the Monarch lets this be declared:—
Therefore are we named Hakhmanishæans; from antiquity have we been unconstrained;
Of old have those of our lineage been monarchs.

"Darius the Chief declareth:—By the grace of Auramazda, I am the king; Auramazda hath delegated to me the government.

"Darius the Monarch publisheth:—These (are) the provinces which were given to me;
By the grace of Auramazda I of them am made king; (they being) Persia, Susiana, Babylonia,
Assyria, Arabia, Mythraya (Ægypt), those of the sea, Sparta (and) Ionia, Armenia,
Cappadocia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana,
Sacia, Sattagydia, Arachotia, (and) Mecia, altogether 23 (?) provinces."

"Instead of giving the whole inscription (much too long for insertion), I here present the reader with a condensed epitome of the events narrated by Darius on the rocks of Behistún, occupying 413 lines (four tablets and a half), nor have I made any reference to Herodotus, whose account, especially in regard to the number of Satrapies, varies considerably from this one.

"It would appear that after Bartiya (Smerdis) had been put to death for revolting against his brother, King (Kabujuja) Cambyses, that the latter went to Egypt, and, during his absence in that country, the provinces revolted under Gumata, who gave himself out to be the Bartiya who was dead. He possessed himself of the empire, and forcibly does Darius express himself in the inscription, "there was no man living, neither a Persian, nor a Mede, nor any one of our tribe, who dared to dispossess Gumata of the empire." The state he terrified into submission.[1] At this juncture, Darius, having prayed to Auramazda, slew, by the aid of some friends ("good men and true," the inscription calls them), this Gumata and his partizans, in the fortress of Sik-

[1] Meaning thereby the nobility and principal men.

thanwatish,[1] in Nisaya, a province of Media. The new king revoked the ordinances of the Magi, restoring the ancient laws and customs, "by the assistance of Auramazda," says the king himself. Scarcely had he, however, established himself securely, ere, in Susiana, a man named Atrina, and in Babylonia, a man named Natitabira (who assumed himself to be Nabukhadrachara) arose, and caused a portion of the provinces to revolt. Atrina was reduced without much trouble, for he was taken prisoner and put to death. But Natitabira sustained two defeats ere Darius could vanquish and slay him. While Darius was rejoicing in the defeat of Natitabira, Susiana, under Martiya, revolted, but, fearing the approach of the king's army, the rebels slew and delivered up the body of Martiya. Then a Mede, named Fravartish (Phraortes), arose, and with him revolted Media. Darius sent his lieutenant, Vidarna by name, and vanquished Fravartish. Armenia, which was also in revolt, was also reduced, but only after a long campaign. But, at this time, Fravartish again raised his head, and Darius again encountered him, defeating and taking him prisoner. Then Darius hanged him, and imprisoned his companions. Shortly afterwards Asagartiya revolted under Chitratakhara. But Darius sent an army, with Khamaspada at its head, and fought this man, took him prisoner, and hanged him. Then Parthia and Hyrcania revolted, and were reduced to submission by Vashtaspa. Then follows an account of the revolt and reduction of Margiana. Persia seems also to have risen, under another pseudo-Bartiya, a man named Wahyazdata, and, beaten from one province, this rebel excited another, till he met with his fate at Babylon. Darius then explains how strictly he has kept to truth in his narrative, and how much of his success he owes to the assistance of Auramazda. He enjoins the dissemination of his account of these actions throughout the world, and pronounces

[1] Evidently where Ptolemy has Sidikes (Mannert. v. 2, 112). —BENFEY.

blessings on those who take care of the inscription, and bitterly curses its destroyers. He then continues:—

"'These are the men who were there present, when I slew Gumata, the Mage, who called himself Bartiya; there present were these men, my partizans:[1]—Vidafranâ [Medic, Viddaparna] (Intaphernes) son of Vayaspara, a Persian; Utana (Otanes), the son of Thukhra, a Persian; Gaubaruwa (Gobryes), the son of Marduniya, a Persian; Vidarna (Hydarnes), the son of Bagabigna (Megabignes[2]), a Persian; Bagabukhsha (Megabyzus), the son of Daduhya, a Persian; Ardumanish (Ardomanes), the son of Vahuka, a Persian.'"[3]

A brief description of the figures represented on this rock, is almost essential to the elucidation of the inscription itself. Eadie[4] has justly remarked that, "prior to Rawlinson's discoveries, very strange and fantastic ideas were formed of the monuments. Sir Robert Ker Porter saw on the principal sculpture Tiglath-Pileser and the ten captive tribes; and Keppel discovered on it Esther and her attendants. It is now plain, from Rawlinson's laborious ingenuity, that Darius selected the surface of this rock to be the record of his own achievements, and that he constituted it the royal charter of the house of Achæmenes."

On one side of the relief, Darius is represented treading with one foot on the prostrate Gumâta, the pseudo-Smerdis, who uplifts his hands in a supplicatory manner. Behind the king are two figures, his bow-bearer and spearman. In front of Darius, are nine figures, fastened together with a rope passed round their necks, and with their hands tied behind them. These seem to represent the nine usurpers of the provinces mentioned in the inscription. The last figure,

[1] These names are obtained from Rawlinson's note (Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. vol. xii. pp. xi.—xviii.), or rather dissertation, published last year.

[2] See Rawlinson, p. xv. [3] See Rawlinson, p. xvii.

[4] Early Oriental History, p. 300.

that of Sarukha, wears a high cap, not unlike that found on the heads of Egyptian colossi, but tapers to a sharper point. Above the group, Auramazda, the presiding genius, is hovering. The space above the figures, on both sides of the Gods, are taken up by inscriptions in the common Persic. Cuneiform characters are found also on the dress of the third captive. To the right of the spectator, below the relief, are three tablets in the character commonly called the Medic. To the left are five columns, mostly in good preservation in the common Persic character, presenting a coherent narrative of 413 lines, the first seventeen of which have been translated before. Above the Medic tablets, to the right, are two tablets in the Babylonian character, and above the last two columns of the Persic are four other tablets, two of which are in the Babylonian, two in the Medic, character.

The figures are thus named in the inscriptions over their heads:—

The recumbent figure is Gumâta. The first figure is Atrina; the second, Natitabira; the third, Fravartish; the fourth, Martiya; the fifth, Chitratakhara; the sixth, Wahyazdata; the seventh, Arakha; the eighth, Frada; and the ninth Sarukha, the Sakan.

We cannot better close our sketch of the glories of the Persian empire, as set forth in the ruins we have just described, than by touching upon the monumental remains which mark the last days of those who have left nought but a name, and a doubtful sepulchre, to remind posterity of their ancient greatness. Among the wondrous ruins of Persepolis, few are more interesting than the tombs, which, like the Pyramids of Egypt, remain as monuments of man's vanity, and man's perseverance.

About five hundred yards east from the hall of columns, two remarkable tombs are shewn, cut in a niche of the rock, 72 feet broad by 130 high, and divided into two compartments, each richly decorated with sculpture. In the lower compartment four pilas-

ters, with capitals bearing the device of the double-headed unicorn, support upon beams an architrave, frieze, and cornice. Below is the form of a door, which, however, appears to be solid. On the entablature above the columns rests a kind of arch, about twelve feet long, and seven or eight high, on which is placed a fire-altar. Within a few feet of the altar are three low steps, forming a platform on which the king stands, uplifting his right hand in adoration, and bearing a bow in his left. The Feroher, or royal guardian spirit, hovers in the air, between the king and the altar. The front of this ark is adorned with two rows of standing figures, about the size of life, armed with daggers at their waist, and with their hands raised over their heads; its sides are supported by two columns, bearing on their capitals the head, shoulders, and fore feet of a bull. On each side of the central stage, where the rock has been scraped down, are nine niches, each containing a statue in bas-relief. On entering a broken doorway, a chamber, forty six-feet long, and twenty in depth, presents itself. At the end of this cavern are three small cells, probably intended for bodies, but now used by the Hiáts, who encamp in the neighbourhood, as magazines for corn and straw. This cavern is now almost dark. Sir William Ouseley states that the representation of the king appears with the same countenance and dress, and in the same attitude, in all the tombs which have been found, and that each tomb contains a receptacle for three bodies. Hence Vaux fairly infers, that "we cannot suppose that the royal figure was designed to represent, like a picture, any particular personage, though the tombs may have been prepared by one great monarch, as the receptacle for the bodies of his descendants."

About three-quarters of a mile to the south is a third tomb, which, although apparently of greater antiquity than the others, has never been finished. It is thus described by Morier:—"On inspecting the first projection of the mountain in that direction, my eye was at-

tracted by some loose stones, evidently cut up for the purposes of masonry, that were strewed on the acclivity; and, on turning the angle of the projection, I was surprised to see a tomb, similar to the two on the mountain, except that it was much more decayed, not so much ornamented, and without any appearance of an entrance. The upper part of the front is built with square stones, similar to those which first caught my eyes; the remainder is cut into the rock. What makes it most remarkable is a collection of large stones, which seems to have been purposely so placed before it, in intricate avenues, as to form a labyrinth, which there is reason to suppose, from the many fragments in its vicinity, was roofed with stone, and then covered over with earth. No other part of the monument, therefore, was intended to be seen, except the square front on which the figures are sculptured; and we may thence conclude that these tombs were never entered but in a secret manner, and that the avenues to them were through subterraneous passages, but so constructed that none but the privileged could find their way through them."

Although situated at a distance of forty-nine miles from Persepolis, the plain of Marghâb, on the road from Shireaz to Isphahan, cannot here be passed over, exhibiting, as it does, a monument fraught with interest to the biblical student—the tomb of Cyrus.

The reader of Rollin, or of the other popular histories with which many of our earliest recollections are associated, will remember the romantic story of this prince, and the minutely characteristic particulars of his childhood and early training, which Xenophon, in the spirit of a novelist rather than of an historian, has handed down for the entertainment, rather than the enlightenment, of futurity. But the earlier history of Cyrus, as detailed in Herodotus, is almost a fairy tale; and, great as may be our doubts about certain portions of Xenophon's statements, his account of the death of this prince, at a good old age, and, like the older patriarchs

of Israel, bequeathing his last words, full of wisdom and manliness, to an assembly of weeping descendants, agrees best[1] with the existence of the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ.

The diligent examination of cuneiform inscriptions, seems to have satisfactorily established the identity of Murghâb with Pasargadæ. Here, according to Strabo, Cyrus fought the decisive battle against his grandfather Astyages, which placed him on the throne, and here did he rear a royal city to attest his victory, here find a last resting-place, after a life spent as well in the quiet offices of domestic humanity as in the busy toils and proud glories of a military career.

The columns and other remains at Murghâb are in the same style, and probably of the same general antiquity, with those of Persepolis, although they by no means furnish so striking an illustration of the eight of Persian art, nor so complete a notion of the alatial buildings of the royal cities of the East. But he tomb of Cyrus is in admirable preservation. It described by Morier as "a building of an extraordinary rm. It rests upon a square base of large blocks of rble, which rise in seven layers pyramidically. It is form a parallelogram; the lowest range of the ndation is forty-three feet by thirty-seven, and the ice itself, which crowns the summit, diminishes to ity-one feet by sixteen feet five inches. It is red with a shelving roof, built of the same massive as its base and sides, which are all fixed together amps of iron. The key of the door is kept by n, and none but females are allowed to enter."[2] d it the broken shafts of twenty-four circular

[1] Vaux, p. 98, sq. If Cyrus had perished in his expedition the Massagetæ, being taken captive and inhumanly d mangled by Tomyris, their queen, as Herodotus it is evident that his burial at Pasargadæ would be le.

[2] he proofs of its identity in Vaux, p. 346.

columns[1] mark an area in the form of a square; seventeen of them are still erect, but are heaped round with rubbish, and barbarously connected by a wall of mud. The beauty of the white marble of which this monument is composed, and the rough grandeur of its proportions, accord well with an early era of Persian art, and its destination to honour the ashes of royalty.

According to Arrian, a golden coffin contained the body of Cyrus, near which was a seat with golden feet, and the whole of the interior was richly hung with purple coverlets and carpets of Babylonian workmanship. The magi were entrusted with the preservation of this tomb, and a small house was built in the neighbourhood for their accommodation. But all this magnificence has now given way to a dismantled chamber, about seven feet wide, ten feet long, and eight in height. "When I entered," says Porter, "I found that the thickness of the walls was one solid single mass of stone, measuring five feet from the outside to within. The floor was composed of two immense slabs, which joined nearly in the middle of the chamber, crossing from right to left. But I lament to say, that immediately opposite the door, both the floor and the wall are much injured by the several invaders of this ancient tomb. The marble surfaces are cruelly broken; and in the floor particularly, deep holes are left, which plainly show where were large iron fastenings, which have been forcibly torn away. Doubtless their corresponding points attached some other mass to this quarter of the building, similar depredations being marked on the marble of the wall. There appeared to be no trace of any cuneiform inscription on the tomb itself. Several portions of scroll work remain on the right side of it, as you enter, apparently of Saracenic taste; and the remains of some Arabic characters, which may be what Mandelso read as, 'Maderi Sulieman,' Mother of

[1] These columns, like those on the grand platform at Persepolis, probably supported no entablature.

Salomon.[1] Not a scratch of any other kind, save the cruel dents from the hammer of the barbarians, interrupted the even polish of the three remaining sides. The roof is flat and nearly black: so are all the sides of the chambers, excepting that which faces the door, and that, with the floor, is perfectly white. Man has done all towards the mutilation of this monument; which, from the simplicity of its form and the solidity of its fragments, seemed calculated to withstand the accidents of nature till the last shock, when her existence would be no more."

[1] A name which it commonly bears among the surrounding inhabitants.

DAMASCUS.

THE history of Damascus presents a strong contrast, in more than one respect, to that of the cities which have hitherto formed the subjects of our remarks. Not only are the scriptural notices of this city more distinct, numerous, and interesting, but it is to this day a populous and flourishing city, although the influence of Moslemism presses with a stern and despotical sway upon the mixed population of Jews and Christians which throng its streets and bazaars.

Of the origin of this most scriptural of cities, nothing certain is known, but it certainly was well known in the days of Abraham.[1] L. Müller[2] maintains that it was even then governed by its own rulers, an opinion which is rendered probable by its subsequent influence over the whole Syrian empire. Possessed by nature of every advantage of situation and soil, it was well suited to be the "head of Syria," the powerful and busy city, which was hereafter destined to give alarm even to the favoured king of the Jews, David, and his successor. Benhadad II., in his campaign against Samaria, was accompanied by "thirty and two kings"[3]; and although these were doubtless little more than pashas or satraps, ruling over districts, the extent of the kingdom of Damascus may be well estimated from their number.

But great as was the power of Damascus under this prince's reign, idolatry had stretched forth its corrupting influence; and although Benhadad was permitted to be a scourge to the weak and wavering Ahab, his

[1] Gen. xiv. 15; xv. 2. [2] In Kitto's Bibl. Cycl. v. i. p. 512.
[3] 1 Kings xx. 1.

boastful impiety, and his daring challenge of Jehovah as a "god of the hills,"[1] brought down a signal defeat, the result of a heaven-inspired delusion; "for the Lord made the host of the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots, and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host: and they said one to another, Lo, the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians, to come upon us. Wherefore, they arose and fled in the twilight, and left their tents, and their horses, and their asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their life."[2] During a subsequent illness, he fell a victim to the treachery of Hazael, one of his chief officers, who smothered him in his bed, and continued to oppress the people of Israel and Judah, especially the former. Jeroboam, however, effected a diversion in favour of the oppressed Jews, and captured Damascus. Subsequently, we find Rezin and Pekah, the confederate kings of Damascus and Israel, making a joint attempt against Ahaz, king of Judah. The prince sought aid at the hands of the Assyrian monarch, Tiglath Pileser, who, induced by a large bribe, fell upon and captured Damascus, carrying its people captive to Kir, slaying their monarch, and uniting the Syrio-Damascene territory with his own.

The glory of Damascus, as an independent kingdom, had set; and she henceforth appears in the pages of history only as a tributary province. Annexed to the Babylonian and Persian empires, it fell into the hands of Alexander the Great,[3] just after the decisive battle of Issus; and at his death formed a part of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, whence it passed to the Romans.

It is in its condition as a Roman province that

[1] And therefore incapable of defending his chosen people in the plain. 1 Kings xx.

[2] 2 Kings vii. 6, 7.

[3] It was a royal treasury of Darius at that time. Curt. iii. 12, sq.

Damascus claims especial consideration, in reference to the history of the New Testament. Fraught with associations the most interesting; with the remembrance of a divine interposition the most sublime in its manifestation, the most important in its influence on the spreading forth and earth-wide development of the mighty truths of Christianity; the scene of Paul's conversion, humiliation, and "setting apart" for the glorious work that was to change darkness into light, and spread the white wings of the angel of Truth over the whole dark abyss of an erring and ignorant world; Damascus, next to Jerusalem, lies before us as "holy ground,"—as one of those spots where the grandest convulsions of society took their origin, as teeming with fondly-cherished recollections of the great Apostle who "became all things unto all men."

It is not difficult to suppose that the spots pointed out as intimately connected with St. Paul's vision and conversion may have been preserved by the pious remembrance of Christians; and that the traditions which place the scene of this great revelation from heaven about half a mile eastward from the city,[1] and in sight of Mount Hermon, as well as those which point out the gate (now walled up) whence Paul was let down in a basket, in order to escape from the death with which he was threatened, deserve more credence than is always to be accorded to such stories. Maundrell, whose account well deserves perusal, quaintly describes a building shewn as the house of Ananias, who restored Paul to sight. "The place shewn for it is, according to the old rule, a small grotto or cellar, affording nothing remarkable, but only that there are in it a Christian church and a Turkish praying-place, seated nearer to each other than well agrees with the nature of such places." In the days of Benjamin of Tudela,[2] the taste for displaying relics did not confine itself to objects of Christian interest. A grand mosque,

[1] Early Travels in Palestine, p. 491 (Wright's Edit.)
[2] Ibid, p. 90, sq.

called the "Synagogue of Damascus," was pointed out as the palace of Benhadad, "one wall of which was framed of glass by enchantment. This wall contained as many openings as there are days in the solar year, and the sun in gradual succession threw its light into the openings, which were divided into twelve degrees, equal to the number of the hours of the day, so that by this contrivance everybody might know what time it was." The rib[1] of an ancient giant-king, named Abchamas, traditionally said to have reigned over the whole world, was, according to the same authority, exhibited with equally superstitious veneration.

But although Damascus was thus singularly honoured in being made the scene of the first spreading forth of Christianity among the Gentile world, the compulsory escape of St. Paul proves that its inhabitants possessed little susceptibility of the truths which were thus miraculously set before their eyes. Nor is it uninstructive to mark the connection of the bigotry, which has distinguished the conduct of the inhabitants towards the Christians at a later period, with the intolerant fury of its Jewish inhabitants, which led them to stifle the first dawning of the truth, and to turn a deaf ear to the awakening voice of their conscience-smitten and repentant countryman.

Neverthless, as if in mercy to the scattered people of Israel, Damascus is, to this day, one of the most flourishing cities of the East. After a continued existence for, perhaps, a longer period than any other city of the earth, its wealth, trade, and commerce, are still suggestive of the splendid position it occupied under the Greek emperors of Constantinople. Despite its conquests by Abubekr,[2] Muhammad's famous successor, and by Timur the Tatar,[3] at a subsequent period; despite the reign of Islamism which has pressed its harsh footsteps on the subdued Christians,

[1] Ibid. Compare De Pinedo on Steph. Byz. s. v. p. 220, respecting this giant.

[2] About A.D. 633. [3] A.D. 1301.

Damascus is a lively representative of every country of the world. While Baalbek and Palmyra, its magnificent neighbours, present nought but a heap of shattered ruins, the streets of Damascus resound with the busy hum of men, and, though persecution still threatens the name of Christian, and brands the Frank as unclean, natural influences are gradually softening the city of bigotry, and ameliorating the condition of resident believers.

Travellers are unanimous in describing the beauty of the surrounding plains, and the picturesque effect of the city itself as viewed in approaching it. Clarke, in his Letters from the East, gives the following interesting description:—"On the following day we set out early, expecting to behold the celebrated plain of Damascus. A large round mountain in front prevented us from obtaining a glimpse of it until we turned a point of the rock; it appeared suddenly at our feet. Perhaps the barren and dreary hills we had been for some days passing made the plain look highly beautiful, and we could gaze at it for some time ere we advanced. The domes and minarets of the sacred city rose out of the heart of a forest of gardens and trees, which was twelve miles in circumference. Four or five small rivers run through the forest and the city, glittering at intervals in the sun; and to form that vivid contrast of objects in which Asiatic so much excels European scenery, the plain was encircled on three of its sides by mountains of light and naked rocks.

"After describing the mountain, we were some time *before* we entered the city. Damascus is seven miles in circumference: the width is quite disproportionate to the length, which is above two miles. The walls of this most ancient city in the world are low, and do not enclose it more than two-thirds round.

"The street still called Straight, and where St. Paul is with reason said to have lived, is entered by the road from Jerusalem. It is as straight as an arrow, a mile

[1] Vol. ii. p. 76, sq.

in length, broad, and well paved. A lofty window in one of the towers to the east, is shewn as the place where the apostle was let down in a basket. In the way to Jerusalem is the spot where his course was arrested by the light from heaven. A Christian is not allowed to reside in Damascus, except in a Turkish dress.

"The great number of tall palm and cypress trees in the plain of Damascus add much to its beauty. The fruits of the plain are of various kinds, and of excellent flavour. Provisions are cheap; the bread is the finest to be found in the East; it is sold every morning in small, light cakes, perfectly white, and surpasses in quality even that of Paris. This luxurious city is no place to perform penance in; the paths around, winding through the mass of fruit-trees, invite you daily to the most delightful rides and walks. Among the fruits produced in Damascus are oranges, citrons, and apricots of various kinds. The celebrated plain of roses, from the produce of which the rich perfume (attar of roses) is obtained, is about three miles from the town; it is a part of the great plain, and its entire area is thickly planted with rose-trees, in the cultivation of which great care is taken.

"The place called the 'Meeting of the Waters,' is about five miles to the north-west of the city. Here the river Barrady, which may be the ancient Abana, being enlarged by another river that falls into it about two miles off, is divided into several streams, which flow through the plain. The separation is the result of art, and takes place at the foot of one or two rocky hills, and the scene is altogether very picturesque. The streams, six or seven in number, are some of them carried to water the orchards and gardens of the higher grounds, others into the lower, but all meet at last close to the city, and form a fine cataract."

A more recent traveller, Lord Castlereagh, is equally enthusiastic in his admiration. "The sun was rising over the city as we turned out to see his first beams

spread over mosque and cupola. The sight was magnificent. There is nothing like this view in the whole world. I do not mean that it is more beautiful, but the singularity of the position of the desert-girt metropolis is its greatest charm. Situated in an immense plain, it rises out of a forest of trees, which stretch all around wherever the waters flow."[1]

The same visitor is amusingly characteristic in describing the internal appearance of Damascus, as well as the bigotry which is still exhibited in this "holy, fanatical, and free" city, as Lamartine, by a droll collocation, cleverly describes it.

"The city itself," continues Lord Castlereagh, "though clean in comparison with other eastern towns I have seen, is not, in point of beauty or picturesque features, to be compared with Cairo. There are no latticed windows overhanging the street—no long and dark vistas of houses, with roofs apparently touching and excluding the straggling sunbeams. Here the streets are broader, and the whole aspect of things, though far less beautiful, displays, perhaps, more comfort.

"The house of Mr. Wood, the consul, is entered by a large court-yard, containing a reservoir or fountain. Round this, are trellised vines and creepers, with masses of flowers and huge rose-bushes, the walls are painted, and covered with carved ornaments of wood-work and stone. There are several rooms, and each seems more beautiful than the last.

"Mr. Wood sent his janizaries with us, and under their protection we strolled through the bazaars, which are extensive, and far more remarkable than those of Cairo, both from their size and the goods displayed. Here all is perfectly oriental; a Frank is rarely to be seen, and the Turks, more fanatical than in any other

[1] A Journey to Damascus, through Egypt, Nubia, Arabia Petræa, &c., by Viscount Castlereagh, M.P., vol. ii. p. 285, sqq. This work is amusing and characteristic in style, but not profound. The high position of its author, however, and his consequent facilities for gaining information, render it well deserving of attention.

of their cities, scarcely conceal their hatred and disgust of every European. So much is this the case, that Mr. Wood was fearful that we might get into scrapes, or be insulted. However, nothing disagreeable occurred, though we were pushed against and hustled by both soldiers and citizens. Subsequently we mounted the roof of a shop to obtain a view of the great mosque, but it is not to be compared to that of Sultan Hassan at Cairo.

"Unlike Cairo, where every street is a picture, the interior portions of the town have nothing to recommend them, except the striking costumes of the inhabitants, and perhaps a greater degree of cleanliness. Yet here there are the same filthy and pestilential heaps of filth, decayed and putrid fruit and offal; while from beneath the stranger's feet starts up a dog who has been gorging himself till he can hardly growl; or some yelping puppies, with their snarling mother, quarrel for scraps and half-rotten bones.

"The bazaars are tenanted by lazy and impudent shopkeepers, who, because Damascus is considered a holy city, and that only for the last few years Franks have been tolerated there, treat them with contempt, and think it a favour to allow them to purchase. This was not so in Mehemet Ali's day. When the Egyptians were masters of Damascus, every European had not only toleration but protection, and the people of the town were obliged to keep terms with the despised stranger. Now, fanaticism has kindled its torch once more, and as the policy of the Porte has been weak enough to allow, if not to encourage, this regenerated animosity, the Ulemas, or heads of sects and tribes in Damascus, by every means in their power, daily instil into the people that they cannot hate or deride us too much.

"This would appear extraordinary after all that England did for the Turks in Syria; but the latter declare, and with some colour of justice, that England was paid, and well paid, for the work upon which the Sultan employed her, and that the decorations and

diamonds, the muskets and ammunition, with which they are to reimburse England, are a perfect set-off against any exertion of ours. In short, we are represented to the lower classes as hired auxiliaries, too happy to do the Sultan's will, if we are paid for it. Nothing is so lamentable as the gross and barbarous ignorance prevailing here. The people are actually told that the Sultan appoints the king of England, and that he is the slave and servant of the Porte!"

Before parting with the reader, it may be well to remind him, that, although the present state of Damascus presents not the same sad spectacle, the same scene of desolation, as many of its former rivals, yet is it equally a witness, throughout its career, to the unerring truth of those prophets by whom God "at sundry times and in divers manners" hath spoken. Whilst its subjugation under the proud yoke of Assyria realized the predictions of Isaiah, its preservation to this day, and its slow, yet certain approach to the blessings of Christian civilization, attest the unbounded mercy, as well as the judgment, of the Creator of all.

BAALBEK, OR BAAL-GAD.

IN Joshua, we read of a city "in the Valley of Lebanon under Mount Hermon,"[1] subsequently[2] mentioned under the name of Baal-Gad. Although Benjamin of Tudela identified Baalbek, the Heliopolis of the Greeks, with "Baalath in the Valley of Lebanon, which Solomon built for the daughter of Pharaoh,"[3] modern criticism has shewn that the identity of Baalbek with the city mentioned by Joshua, is at least open to fewer objections than any other hypothesis.

We must again recur to the oft-mentioned subject of Sabaism, the favourite and most natural form of idolatry among early eastern nations. Of this depraved system, the very name of Baalbek is suggestive. Dr. Kitto[4] has well observed, that, "as this word, in the Syrian language, signifies the city of Baal, or of the Sun; and as the Syrians never borrowed names from the Greeks, or translated Greek names, it is certain that when the Greeks came into Syria they found the place bearing this name, or some other signifying *city of the Sun*, since they termed it Heliopolis, which is doubtless a translation of the native designation." The result, however, of the Doctor's learned investigations, seems to prove that the worship of Jupiter (expressed under the other name of Baal-Gad) was not anterior to the introduction of sun-worship by the Egyptians. Macrobius,[5] a fanciful, but learned writer, seems to assert that the sun-worship introduced into Heliopolis, in

[1] Josh. xi. 17; xii. 7. [2] Ib. xiii. 5.
[3] See Early Travels in Palestine, p. 91.
[4] Biblical Cyclop. v. i. p. 263, where the whole subject is carefully investigated. [5] Saturn, i. 23.

Syria, was but a modification of the reverence already paid to Jove by the Syrians; and Dr. Kitto hence infers, "that the worship of Jupiter was already established, and popular at the place, and that the worship of the sun previously was not,—and that a name indicative thereof must have been posterior to the introduction of that worship by the Egyptians; and, as we have no ground for supposing that this took place before or till long after Joshua, it could not then be called by any name corresponding to Heliopolis."

I have before[1] warned my readers, that any comparison between the classical and the oriental names of deities is very uncertain, and seldom satisfactory. Perhaps this applies with some force to the whole story of the introduction of the worship of Jupiter into Baalbek. Furthermore, the word Baal itself admits of a considerable latitude, standing, as it may, either for the generic name of *god* or *deity*, or for the sun alone.[2]

But although there may be some doubts as to the certainty of the criticism which identifies Baalbek with the Baal-gad of Joshua,[3] still, from the natural tendency to sun-worship presented by most oriental nations, there can be no hesitation as to Baalbek having been a grand centre of this modified form of Sabaistic adoration. And although this may be regarded by some as springing from a principle exclusively Phœnician, it is rather to be looked upon as springing from the most natural impulses of the human mind, when left without a guide or teacher to lead to the true God as the greater source of Life and Light. As the dying heroes of Greek tragedy invoke the sun to which they are about to bid an eternal farewell; as they deplore, in pathetic terms, the dim gloominess which they were about to enter, and perhaps dwell

[1] Page 58, note 2.

[2] "Baal, though it imports all idols in general, of whatsoever sex or condition, yet it is very often appropriated to the sun, the sovereign idol of this country."—Maundrell, p. 496.

[3] See Robinson's Calmet, p. 491.

upon the loss of the sun's light as a deprivation sadder than that of life itself; so does even the savage, charmed by the sun which rouses him from slumber to the rude, unvarying toils of the chase, hail as a god the bright beams which, shaking off the deathlike dream of the past night, seem to call all the surrounding world into a renewed existence. Whether in the Platonized rhapsodies of a Julian,[1] in the fire-worship of the Magi, or the more chastened, more graceful adoration paid to Apollo by the Greeks, we discern one common principle, founded in impulse rather than theory, which reverences the sun as a visible deity, or as the Deity's immediate and visible agent. Without entering farther into particulars on this head, we will merely advert to the fact of the name Heliopolis having been applied to six or seven cities[2] of the ancient world, as a proof of the frequency of the consecration of cities to the worship of the sun.

It happens, unfortunately for the antiquarian, that, whilst we possess the most complete descriptions and details of the magnificent ruins which attest the ancient luxury and wealth of the inhabitants of Baalbek, we possess scarcely any information respecting their history. It is next to impossible to believe that they are purely of Roman origin, although we have authority[3] for assigning a portion of them to the liberality of Antoninus Pius. It is possible that this emperor may have restored, augmented, or altered structures already existing; and other authorities[4] seem to prove that Baalbek was always regarded as a place of importance under the emperors. But of its earlier history, of its

[1] Julian, the witty but inconsistent opponent of the Christians, has left a "Hymn to the Sun," redolent of a curious mixture of Neo-Platonic mysticism and poetical allusion.

[2] See Stephanus of Byzantium.

[3] See Kitto, v. i. p. 264.

[4] "From the reverse of Roman coins we learn that Heliopolis was constituted a colony by Julius Cæsar; that it was the seat of a Roman garrison in the time of Augustus, and obtained the *Jus Italicum* from Severus."—*Ibid.*

connection with primitive Eastern nations, and its relation to their mythology and superstitions, we possess nothing but vague conjectures, founded upon inadequate and unsatisfactory data.

"The town of Baalbek[1] is now almost a complete ruin, with the walls which surrounded it, of an irregular quadrangle in form, fallen in many places, and the inhabited abodes being of a most wretched character. Immense quantities of hewn stone and fragments of pillars, both of the common rock of the country, are strewn about in all directions. The eye of the traveller, however, does not rest on their prostration and confusion, and the filth with which they are associated. It sees, standing up in majesty amidst the apocryphal Saracenic and Turkish towers and walls of the fort, the proudest and grandest memorials of human architecture on which it has ever rested: and it scans with wonder and astonishment the remains of the temples, and their courts and colonnades, of Heliopolis. The ruins are those of a greater and lesser temple. The sub-basement of both the temples is artificial, to give them a superior elevation; and the court of the larger, in particular, is principally on arched vaults, to some of which access can now be got. The peristyles of the temples stand on strong masonry; but this it has been intended to conceal by facings of stone, or rather rock, of the most prodigious size ever used in architecture, as is evident at the western and northern ends of the great temple. The enormity of some of the stones of the facing has been often brought to notice. One stone, in the western wall—overlooked both by Maundrell, and Wood, and Dawkins, probably because irregularly cut in the outer surface, though of an undivided mass—is sixty-nine feet in length, thirteen in depth, and eighteen in breadth, affording altogether a block of raised rock—to give it in letters—of sixteen thousand one hundred and forty-six cubic feet. The fellow of this stone is left nearly ready cut in the

[1] This detailed description is from the pen of Dr. Wilson.

quarry, about a quarter of an hour to the south of the town, to challenge posterity to come up to the deeds of ancestry by removing it from its position. Above the stone in the sub-basement now alluded to, there are other three of enormous dimensions, forming its second elevation, of which Wood and Dawkins say, that they found the length to make together above a hundred and ninety feet, and separately sixty-three feet eight inches, sixty-four feet, and sixty-three feet. But let us return again to our plan. We have, beginning with the east, a staircase, leading up to a grand portico, with chambers on each side. From the portico, the entrance must have been by a large and two smaller doors into an hexagonal court, with various little chambers and niches for idols, the pedestals of which, in many instances, still remain. From this court, the entrance is into a large quadrangular court with similar conveniences. Passing this second court, we are at the large temple, properly so called. Its remains, in addition to its lower works, consist of a colonnade of six Corinthian pillars of majestic size, and bearing a rich entablature, forming altogether objects of enchanting architectural beauty, with looking at which the eye is never satisfied. These columns belong to the flank of the temple, the original number having been nineteen, while there were ten in front. The bases and pedestals of the others are in their places. A number of the shafts are strewn about, generally with the three pieces of which they were composed separated from one another. The height of these pillars, including the architrave, we found to be seventy-five feet ten inches. Their diameter, taking the measurement between the first and second stones, is seven feet three inches. Their distance from one another is eight feet seven inches. The temple certainly was never finished. The ruins of Baalbek astonish every visitant. Their great delineators, who took only an artistic view of them, say:—'When we compare them with those of many ancient cities which

is very hard, and the cutting as fine as it is possible to conceive. But wherever the eye wanders among the ruins, it involuntarily turns to the magnificent Sextuor, which rises, like the personification of strength and beauty, as if it stood there to be worshipped as the deity of the place.

"But it is painful to behold the distinction that time and man have worked: many are the changes which the temples have undergone since they were sacred to the idols of Baal; for Baalbek has been turned into a fortress, and bastions and batteries have been erected among her colonnades and porticos. These, again, are gone, and with them a mosque which had been built in the midst of the walls; but many a fragment on which the richest sculpture is portrayed is recognised amidst the rough execution of modern Vandals, who broke down pillar and capital, frieze and bas-relief, to construct a wretched mosque, and make a fortification that was useless.

"I do not pretend to guess at the history of Baalbek. But it is clear that its foundations and origin are of the earliest date. How far, and at what time, the Roman brought his taste and skill to bear upon what he discovered here, I know not; but the temples would appear cotemporaneous with, or very little younger than Karnac and Luxor; all, however, is lost in mystery, for the traces of their history cannot be followed out, and the confusion that prevails among all the remnants of these mighty edifices, renders it impossible even to guess at the chain of vicissitudes which reduced them to their present state.

"It is doubtful whether there is anything in the world, taking it as a whole, more imposing than the colonnade of Baalbek, with the six pillars rising opposite to it. It is true that the gigantic proportions and extent of Karnac are wanting; but Karnac, on the other hand, is without the elaborate sculptures and ornament of Baalbek.

"There is a small circular temple, or more probably

a tomb, near a fountain, almost covered by a weeping-willow. We saw, also, a building, with granite columns, containing a sarcophagus, but they were all in ruins."

It is not impossible that a portion of the splendid buildings at Baalbek, may have been appropriated to purposes of Christian worship.[1] This perhaps arrested the progress of decay for some time after the age of Constantine, as the accounts of oriental writers assert that Baalbek continued a place of considerable importance down to the time of the Moslem invasion of Syria; and, in the days of the Emperor Heraclius, it was looked upon as a strong citadel, well calculated to withstand a siege. Notwithstanding, however, a sturdy resistance, it was forced to submit to the conqueror; and the rich ransom exacted by the avarice of the conqueror, is a satisfactory evidence of its commercial wealth.[2] Whilst gradually recovering from this attack, it received a rude blow from the Khalif of its powerful neighbour, Damascus; not only was the city pillaged and thrown into ruins, but a cruel massacre of the principal inhabitants made Baalbek a place of mourning.

During the Crusades but little mention of Baalbek appears; but it is probable that, if this city still retained any Christian population, this circumstance may have aroused the spirit of persecution, and tended to promote the work of desolation that had already commenced. It appears no longer as an active agent in the scene of the world's action, and little as we know of its previous influence upon the vast scheme of human progress, we trace, in its subjection first to ignorant and marauding tribes, and subsequently to the more refined but equally ignorant bigotry of the Turkish nation, evidences of the sad wear and tear of nations—

[1] See Kitto, vol. i. p. 264.

[2] This ransom, according to Kitto, consisted of 2,000 ounces of gold, 4,000 ounces of silver, 2,000 silk vests, and 1,000 swords, together with the arms of the garrison.



is very hard, a
conceive. But
ruins, it involu
which rises, l
beauty, as if
deity of the p

"But it is
and man hav
the temples l
the idols of l
fortress, and
among her
gone, and w
the midst o
the richest
the rough
down pillar
struct a wr
was useles

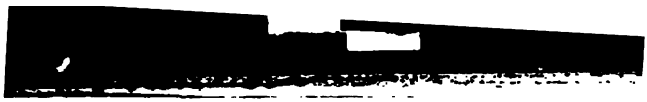
"I do
bek. But
of the ea
Roman h
he disco
appear
than Ka
tery, for
out, and
nants o
even to
them t

"It
world,
colonn
posite
and
the o
ornar

"



of that mysterious yet calculating influence which has reduced the once magnificent "City of the Sun" to a wretched village of mud-houses. Even the fruitfulness of nature has deserted it, and the grapes and the pomegranates, once so abundant, are sought for in vain.



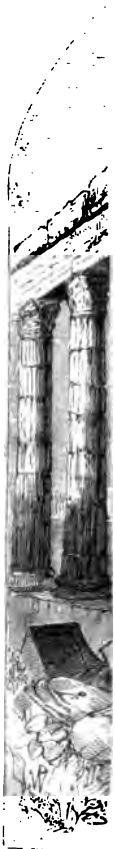
of that mysterious yet elaborate influence which has reduced the once magnificent "City of the Sun" to a wretched village of mud-houses. Even the fruitfulness of nature has deserted it, and the grapes and the pomegranates, once so abundant, are sought for in vain.






PALMYRA





PALMYRA.

I HAVE retained the Grecian name of this interesting city, although the prevalence of local usage still clings to the ancient Tadmor.[1] Throughout the East, from the oldest times, the presence of the palm-tree has ever been regarded as a proof of fertility, especially in distinguishing the small oases rising like islands in the ocean, amidst a barren tract of sand, and gladdening the tired and thirsty traveller by the hope of a green shade and fresh water[2]—two blessings which all who have visited the East eagerly appreciate. Hence has the palm-tree become a favourite subject in architectural decoration, as in the Egyptian temples at Denderah and Luxor;[3] and the "City of Palms" was a natural and fitting epithet for this grand commercial resort, frequented, in the days of its founder Solomon, by caravans from all the leading cities of the East. It must be remembered, however, that although palm-trees are still found in the gardens which environ the ruins of Palmyra, they are but sparing[4] in comparison of the numbers which once gave occasion to so truly eastern an epithet.

Before entering upon a description of the ruins which

[1] Or rather Thadmor. The more ancient name "Tamar" is found in the text of 1 Kings ix. 18.

[2] Such an oasis is quaintly described Exod. xv. 27. "And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm trees: and they encamped there by the waters." Some important information on this subject will be found in Dr. Kitto's notes in the Pictorial Bible, 2 Chron. viii. 4.

[3] See Long, Egyptian Antiquities, vol. i. p. 106 and 155.

[4] A similar circumstance has taken place near Persepolis, the grove around the tomb of Cyrus having entirely disappeared.—Vaux, p. 346.

cover the ground upon which so many busy thousands once trafficked, a glance at the political features of Solomon's reign will furnish the most probable notion of the greatness of Palmyra, and of the motives that led to its aggrandizement.

With a character remarkable for caution rather than courage, with a worldliness of disposition which led him to prefer wealth to glory, Solomon was fortunate in succeeding to a kingdom which the complete and recent victories of his father had placed in a state of comparative security. The circumstances attendant on his birth would materially tend to keep him in comparative seclusion, and the favourite offspring of Bathsheba was perhaps spared any military or political exertion, till the time when, with an understanding matured by careful study, and a disposition as yet little sullied by the temptations of court intrigues, or the more dangerous allurements of idolatry, he found himself master of resources which, as is oftentimes the case with the labours of another, were to render proverbial the name of the man who had employed rather than amassed them.[1] Nor is there much doubt but that Bathsheba, a woman of a crafty and resolute spirit, who had gained an influence sufficient to enable her to supplant those whose claims to the throne seemed more direct, had a considerable influence in forming the mind of the future king. Like a Tanaquil or a Semiramis, her ambition and her forethought instructed Solomon in the probable means of security, and the right organization of a power which, once misdirected, would come to the same premature end which had already befallen so many mighty dynasties.

Universal prosperity cheered the efforts of the Jews, and politicians would not be slow to derive the shrewd, money-making habits of this people, even in their isolated state, up to the present day, from the habits of trade matured by their intercourse with the Egyptians

[1] Some rough calculations of the sums expended by David in public works will be found in Kitto, v. ii. p. 780, an article on Solomon which well deserves perusal.

and Tyrians during the reign of this "merchant-sovereign." The nature of the traffic thus opened has been well observed by a masterly biographer[1] of this prince's history, although he has, perhaps, taken too harsh a view of the private character—made too little allowance for some of the failings, of Solomon.

"The agricultural tribes enjoyed a soil and climate in some parts eminently fruitful, and in all richly rewarding the toil of irrigation; so that, in the security of peace, nothing more was wanted to develope the resources of the nation than markets for its various produce. In food for men and cattle, in timber and fruit-trees, in stone, and probably in the useful metals, the land supplied, of itself, all the first wants of its people in abundance. For exportation, it is distinctly stated that wheat, barley, oil, and wine, were in chief demand; to which we may conjecturally add, wool, hides, and other raw materials. The king, undoubtedly, had large districts and extensive herds of his own; but, besides this, he received presents in kind from his own people, and from the subject nations; and it was possible in this way to make demands upon them, without severe oppression, to an extent that is unbearable where taxes must be paid in gold or silver. He was himself at once monarch and merchant; and we may, with much confidence, infer, that no private merchant will be allowed to compete with a prince who has assumed the mercantile character. By his intimate commercial union with the Tyrians, he was put into the most favourable of all positions for disposing of his goods. That energetic nation, possessing so small a strip of territory, had much need of various raw produce for their own wants. Another large demand was made by them for the raw materials of manufactures, and for articles which they could with advantage sell again; and as

[1] F. W. Newman, in Kitto, v. ii. p. 780. The only apology I can make for using so copious an extract, is my inability to convey so much information in a better manner.

marts for the eastern trade that was carried on by sea, Palmyra was for some time the chief mart for so much of that trade as was carried on by land."

I have before observed that we find but few remains that belong to the era of the early glory of Palmyra. Even as early as the reign of the emperor Trajan, it was lying waste, but was rebuilt, under the name of Adrianopolis, by his successor Adrian.[1] Under Caracalla it obtained the privileges of a Roman colony. During the weak and fast failing condition of the Roman empire, which ensued under Galenius and Valerian, when provinces and colonies were fast asserting their independence of the mother city, Odenatus became master of Palmyra, and of the whole territory of Mesopotamia. He boldly assumed the title of king, and, at his death, his queen Zenobia became mistress of most of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire.

Zenobia[2] was a wonderful woman. Shrewd, vigilant, and persevering, she was equally renowned for her learning and her political abilities. Whilst, like our own Lady Jane Grey, she gave her private moments to the study of Greek, and probably of the sciences of eloquence and criticism, under the judicious Longinus,[3] she displayed the energy of an Elizabeth in her regular attendance at the council-chamber, and in her admirable arrangements for the defence and consolidation of her vast power. But her abilities failed to withstand the exertions of Aurelian, who vanquished the Amazon-like queen, and led her in triumph to Rome, leaving the depopulated and ruined city as an evidence of his prowess. Subsequently—perhaps out of compliment to the bravery and skill of Zenobia—he ordered the Temple of the Sun to be restored, garrisoned the town, and appointed a deputy over the

[1] Steph. Byz. s. v. p. 522.

[2] The "Letters from Palmyra" are well worth reading, on the subject of Zenobia's life and policy.

[3] See his life, by Eunapius, and Gabriel de Petra. Longinus fell a victim to his affectionate devotion to his royal mistress.

surrounding district. Subsequent emperors contributed variously to the restoration and adornment of the city, but in A.D. 744, it was taken by the Khalif Merwan, after an obstinate resistance of seven months, and its decay gradually set in. When Benjamin of Tudela visited the place, it contained "2,000 warlike Jews, who were at war with the Christians, and with the Arabian subjects of Noureddin."[1] In A.D. 1400, it was pillaged by the army of Tamerlane.

"The ruins cover a sandy plain, stretching along the basis of a range of mountains called Jebel Belaes, running nearly north and south, dividing the great desert from the desert plains, extending westwards towards Damascus, and the north of Syria. The lower eminences of these mountains, bordering the ruins, are covered with numerous solitary square towers, the tombs of the ancient Palmyrenes, in which are found memorials similar to those of Egypt. They are seen to a great distance, and have a striking effect in this desert solitude. Beyond the valley which leads through these hills, the ruined city first opens upon the view. The thousands of Corinthian columns of white marble, erect and fallen, and covering an extent of about a mile and a half, present an appearance which travellers compare to that of a forest. The site on which the city stands is slightly elevated above the level of the surrounding desert for a circumference of about ten miles, which the Arabs believe to coincide with the extent of the ancient city, as they find ancient remains whenever they dig within this space. There are, indeed, traces of an old wall, not more than three miles in circumference, but this was probably built by Justinian, at a time when Palmyra had lost its ancient importance, and become a desolate place, and when it was consequently desirable to contract its bounds so as to include only the more valuable portion. Volney well describes the general aspect which these ruins present:—'In the space covered by these

[1] Early Travels in Palestine, p. 91.

ruins we sometimes find a palace, of which nothing remains but the court and walls; sometimes a temple, whose peristyle is half thrown down; and now a portico, a gallery, or triumphal arch. Here stand groups of columns, whose symmetry is destroyed by the fall of many of them; there we see them ranged in rows of such length, that, similar to rows of trees, they deceive the sight, and assume the appearance of continued walls. If, from this striking scene, we cast our eyes upon the ground, another, almost as varied, presents itself: on all sides we behold nothing but subverted shafts, some whole, others shattered to pieces, or dislocated in their joints; and on which side soever we look, the earth is strewed with vast stones, half buried, with broken entablatures, mutilated friezes, disfigured reliefs, effaced sculptures, violated tombs, and altars defiled by dust.'"[1]

Recent travellers,[2] however, are much less glowing in their encomiums of the beauty of the ruins of Palmyra. Whilst allowing the grandeur of the general effect, they complain of great deficiency in the proportion and finish of the details. It must, however, be remembered, that the colossal grandeur of an original design may have been impoverished by the alterations of subsequent ages, and that the degeneracy in art, which characterized the declining era of Rome, has probably left marks of its officious interference with the works of a more refined and sober school of art. Whilst the name has been scrupulously preserved, not a vestige remains of the old city of Solomon.

[1] Kitto's Cyclopædia, v. ii. p. 818. [2] Irby and Mangles.

TYRE.

THE history of this ancient "mart of nations" is so closely connected with the history of Solomon's reign, that I must entreat my reader to bear in mind, while reading the present article, the sketch just given of that prince's political character, especially in commercial relations.

The original name of this great city was Tsôr or Tsur, the Sarra of the Latins,[1] a name which it probably derived from having been at first founded on a rocky site, for purposes of defence. Its original position was on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, about midway between Egypt and Asia Minor, and near the north-western frontier of Palestine. As it was a colony of Zidon, it is styled, in the poetical language of prophecy, the "daughter of Zidon," which was evidently a more ancient city, although chiefly known through its participation in the sins of idolatry which, in Scripture, connect its name with its wealthy and powerful colony. Prideaux[2] places its foundation by the Zidonians two hundred and forty years before the building of Solomon's temple, observing that "it soon outgrew its mother in largeness, riches, and power."

At a very early period, we find the Tyrians possessed of sufficient resources, and with such adequate capabilities of using them, that David resorted to their king, Hiram, for assistance in realising the grand design of his whole life, the "house" for the Lord, which his successor was, however, destined to finish. The

[1] Cf. Serv. on Virg. Georg. ii. 506, on the "sarranum ostrum."
[2] Vol. i. p. 124. [3] About B.C. 1142. See 2 Sam. v. 11, sqq.

hewing, and probably the carving of timber, and "cunning to work all works in brass," were the qualifications chiefly in request, but if we turn to the pages of prophecy, it will be difficult to suggest any luxury or refinement of life, which the advanced state of Tyrian art and commerce did not enable it to furnish.

As the sublimest picture of an ancient city, revelling in wealth and iniquity, even while the finger of God's wrath was pointed against it, and while his judgment was but suspending its blow, I cannot avoid quoting the burden of Ezekiel in "lamentation for Tyre":[1]—

"O thou that art situate at the entry of the sea, which art a merchant of the people for many isles, Thus saith the Lord God; O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty. Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty. They have made all thy ship-boards of fir-trees of Senir; they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee. Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim. Fine linen, with broidered work from Egypt, was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners; thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots. The ancients of Gebal, and the wise men thereof, were in thee thy calkers; all the ships of the sea, with their mariners, were in thee to occupy thy merchandise. They of Persia, and of Lud, and of Phut, were in thine army, thy men of war; they hanged the shield and helmet in thee; they set forth thy comeliness. The men of Arvad, with thine army, were upon thy walls round about, and the Gammadims were in thy towers; they hanged their shields upon thy walls round about; they have made thy beauty perfect. Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead,

[1] Ezek. xxvii. 2, sqq.

they traded in thy fairs. Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants; they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market. They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen and mules. The men of Dadan were thy merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thy hand; they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony. Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making; they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen and coral, and agate.

"Judah, and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants: they traded in thy market wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm. Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches; in the wine of Helbon, and white wool. Dan also and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs: bright iron, cassia, calamus, were in thy market. Dedan was thy merchant in precious clothes for chariots. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats; in these were they thy merchants. The merchants of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy merchants: they occupied in thy fairs with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. Haram, and Canneh, and Eden; the merchants of Sheba, Assher, and Chilmad, were thy merchants in all sorts of things, in blue clothes, and broidered work, and in chests of rich apparel, bound with cords, and made of cedar, among thy merchandise. The ships of Tarshish did sing of thee in thy market: and thou wast replenished, and made very glorious in the midst of the seas.

"Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters: the east wind hath broken thee in the midst of the seas. Thy riches, and thy fairs, thy merchandise, thy mariners, and thy pilots, thy calkers, and the occupiers of thy merchandise, and all thy men-of-war, that are in thee, and in all thy company which is in the midst of

thee, shall fall into the midst of the seas in the day of ruin. The suburbs shall shake at the sound of the cry of thy pilots. And all that handle the oar, the mariners, and all the pilots of the sea, shall come down from their ships, they shall stand upon the land; and shall cause their voice to be heard against thee, and shall cry bitterly, and shall cast up dust upon their heads, they shall wallow themselves in the ashes. And they shall make themselves utterly bald for thee, and gird them with sackcloth, and they shall weep for thee with bitterness of heart and bitter wailing. And in their wailing they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and lament over thee, saying, What city is like Tyrus, like the destroyed in the midst of the sea? When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many people; thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise. In the time when thou shalt be broken by the seas in the depths of the waters, thy merchandise and all thy company in the midst of thee shall fall. All the inhabitants of the isles shall be sore afraid, they shall be troubled in their countenance. The merchants among the people shall hiss at thee; thou shalt be a terror and never shall be any more."

It is useless to attempt description after language so graphic, so vivid in its colouring, so minute in its details: not only are the means of wealth distinctly stated, but we are also informed whence they were derived. Before the ivory thrones, on which the elders of Tyre sat, the nations of the whole earth displayed their treasures, sought their aid and patronage, and courted approbation.

But the other side of the picture equally claims our contemplation, and for sadder and more solemn reasons. It is a melancholy reflection, that the arts by which man's wants are satisfied—by which, in fact, new desires are created, and new sources of gratification opened to the eager mind of man—that these arts, which set forth the progress of ripening humanity, and make man the

undisputed lord of the lower classes of created beings, should be so often the means of corrupting the best feelings, and perverting even their own perfection to purposes of evil. As with the polished civilization of other older cities of the eastern world, so was it with Tyre. The same hands that wrought the delicate vestments in which her kings sat as they gave judgment, also hung the tapestries that decked the temples of the Zidonian idols. The same cunning workmanship that once wrought the brazen decorations of a temple to the true and only God, formed senseless idols. As the Israelites in the desert perverted their knowledge of Egyptian art to presumptuous imitations of the God whom their faithlessness supposed was lost to them, so did the Tyrians persist in following the corrupt practices of their ancestors, till God's wrath burst forth, and conqueror upon conqueror arose to punish the presumption of the city to which Ezekiel had said :—"Thine heart was lifted up because of thy beauty; thou hast corrupted thy wisdom by reason of thy brightness; thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thine iniquities, by the iniquity of thy traffic; wherefore will I bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, it shall devour thee; and I will bring thee to ashes upon the earth, in the sight of all them that behold thee."[1]

The first important enemy who seems to have attempted to subdue the haughty Tyrians was Shalmaneser. Some maritime towns, which had hitherto preserved their fidelity to Tyre, revolted to this prince, who, encouraged by their defection, and led on by cupidity, joined battle with them at sea. But the Tyrians, although they presented a small armament of twelve ships to fight against the joint fleet of the Assyrians and Phœnicians, which numbered sixty, came off victorious, and Shalmaneser retired in disgust, leaving an army to blockade the city. In vain did they cut off the supplies of water furnished by the aqueducts; the persevering Tyrians dug deep wells, by which they

[1] Ezek. xxviii. 17, sq.

compensated for the deficiency, and after thus holding out five years, the death of Shalmaneser relieved them from fear.[1]

Flushed with the glory of having successfully withstood the mightiest king of the East, the Tyrians, as has been well observed, "for a time played a part in the ancient world like that which Venice played in the middle ages. Each was insular, colonial, and continental—its borders in the midst of the seas—the builders had perfected its beauty—every precious stone was its covering. Each was not only commercial and opulent, but a joyous city, a pleasant place of all festivity—dance, song, and harp."[2] It was against Tyre in its heat of presumptuous glory, consequent on this triumph of its ability and perseverance, that the lamentable denunciations of Isaiah and Ezekiel were directed. Let us listen to the narrative of their fulfilment.

Before a generation had passed away,[3] the direful warnings of the prophets were confirmed by the appearance of Nebuchadnezzar, who, after an obstinate resistance of fourteen years duration, made himself master of the old city of Tyre. But the inhabitants had meanwhile removed their most valuable effects into an island about half a mile distant from the shore, where a new city was rapidly rising. "And therefore, when Nebuchadnezzar entered that which he had so long besieged, he found little there wherewith to reward his soldiers in the spoil of the place which they had so long laboured to take, and therefore, wreaking his anger upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left in them, he razed the whole town to the ground, and slew

[1] "At this crisis, or even earlier, an island half a mile from the shore was made a stronghold for the riches of the city; the water, to a nautical people, being the best bulwark against the Assyrians, who had no maritime power. The original city on the mainland was subsequently named Palaio-Tyrus, or Old Tyre."—Kitto, v. ii. p. 896. [2] Kitto, ibid.

[3] See Prideaux, v. i. p. 114 and 128, sqq. The scoffings of the Tyrians against the kingdoms of Judah and Israel in their misfortune had no small share in calling down the Divine wrath.

all he found therein. After this it never more recovered its former glory, but the city on the island became the Tyre that was afterwards so famous by that name, the other on the continent never rising any higher than to become a village by the name of Old Tyre."[1]

Tyre was "forgotten seventy years,"[2] as Isaiah had foretold, but the enterprising spirit of its inhabitants was not easily crushed. Of its intermediate history little or nothing is known, but when the Macedonian conqueror appeared before its walls, it "surpassed all other Syro-Phœnician cities in renown and greatness."[3] A powerful reaction had restored the new city to all the forgotten glories of the ancient one, and the Tyrians had not lost one atom of the undaunted perseverance which had withstood the Assyrian conqueror. But their obstinacy was, on the present occasion, matched by that of Alexander.

The Zidonians yielded readily; but when Alexander approached Tyre, the inhabitants sent ambassadors to him, bearing presents for himself and provisions for his army, at the same time professing their willingness to do whatever he might wish.[4] Alexander simply asked permission to enter the city, and sacrifice to Hercules.[5]

[1] Prideaux, v. i. p. 128,—who shews that the prophecies of Ezekiel respecting the manner of the siege apply only to the Tyre on the mainland. But it has been suggested, and with much probability, that, although the island was not as yet much built upon, it had, for some time previous to its siege by Nebuchadnezzar, been closely connected with the old city. Hengstenberg (De Rebus Tyriorum) thinks that "there were two cities, one insular, and the other on the mainland; perhaps joined originally, as long afterwards, by a mole."—Encycl. Metrop. Early Oriental History, p. 426, Eadie's edition. But this latter opinion seems at variance with history, which unhesitatingly attributes the formation of the mole to Alexander the Great.

[2] Is. xxiii. 15. Probably the duration of the Babylonian monarchy. See Barnes.

[3] Curtius, iv. 2, Cf. Arrian, de Exped. Alex. ii. p. 129, ed. Var.

[4] Arrian, ibid. His account is perhaps the most elegant of all.

[5] Not the Grecian, but the Tyrian Hercules.

Whether Alexander well knew that the request was one that would never be complied with, we know not; but it is certain that the acknowledgment of his all-conquering powers, and the indirect comparison of his own prowess with that of Hercules, proved most distasteful to the Tyrians, who unanimously denied him an entrance. I will not repeat any of the clever things which Curtius and others assert that Alexander said upon the occasion, nor will I describe any of the apparitions that favoured his attempts. A tedious siege of seven months, while it proved that the refusal of the Tyrians was founded in the consciousness of substantial resources, at the same time developed the ingenuity of the Macedonians, and showed them that they had found their match. By means of a mole, the island was turned into a peninsula, formed by the ruins of the old city, and of timber from the adjacent Mount Libanus, and thereby rendered accessible to land forces. And hereby, at least in a secondary[1] sense, were fulfilled those prophecies which had said: "And they shall lay thy stones and thy timber and thy dust in the midst of the water, and thou shalt be no more: though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again, saith the Lord God."[2] So utterly were the ruins of Old Tyre cast into the sea, that its exact site cannot now be determined.

The new city, however, at a subsequent period, manfully resisted the attacks of Antigonus[3] and the garrison stationed there by Ptolemy was permitted to depart, and the inhabitants to remain unmolested. But the rivalry of Alexandria, just springing into political importance, kept back the tendency to recover which seemed ever awake in the active Tyrians, and in the time of Pliny it was little known, except for its manufacture of purple.

[1] On this secondary fulfilment of prophecy, see Prideaux, p. 602.

[2] Ezek. xxvi. 12, 21.

[3] B.C. 313. Cf. Prideaux, v. i. p. 765.

During the Crusades, Tyre was beleaguered more than once, was the burial-place of the German emperor Barbarossa, and remained in European hands till A.D. 1291, when it was compelled to yield to the fast advancing power of the Moslems. Its splendid fortifications were utterly demolished, and losing its value as a stronghold, it never again rose into importance. Maundrell, who visited it in 1694, gives us the following description:—

"This city, standing in the sea upon a peninsula, promises at a distance something very magnificent, but when you come to it you find no similitude of that glory for which it was renowned in ancient times, and which the prophet Ezekiel describes.[1] On the north side it has an old Turkish ungarrisoned castle, besides which you see nothing here but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c., there being not so much as one entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, harbouring themselves in the vaults, and subsisting chiefly upon fishing, who seemed to be preserved in this place by Divine Providence, as a visible argument how God has fulfilled his word concerning Tyre, viz., that it should be as the top of a rock, a place for fishers to dry their nets on.

"In the midst of the ruins there stands up one pile higher than the rest, which is the east end of a great church, probably of the cathedral of Tyre; and why not the very same that was erected by its bishop Paulinus, and honoured with that famous consecration sermon of Eusebius, recorded by himself;[2] this having been an archiepiscopal see in the Christian times?

"There being an old staircase in this ruin last mentioned, I got up to the top of it, from whence I had an entire prospect of the island, part of Tyre, of the isthmus, and of the adjacent shore. I thought I could, from this elevation, discern the isthmus to be a soil of a different nature to the other two, it lying lower than

[1] Ezek. xxvi. 14, 27, 28.
[2] Eccl. Hist. x. 4.

either, and being covered all over with sand, which the sea casts upon it as the tokens of its natural right to a passage there, from which it was, by Alexander the Great, injuriously excluded. The island of Tyre, in its natural state, seems to have been of a circular figure, containing not more than forty acres of ground. It discovers still the foundations of a wall, which anciently encompassed it round at the utmost margin of the land. It makes, with the isthmus, two large bays, one on the north side, and the other on the south. These bays are in part defended fron the ocean, each by a long ridge, resembling a mole, stretching directly out, on both sides, from the head of the island; but these ridges, whether they were walls or rocks, whether the work of art or nature, I was too far distant to discern."[1]

To the same purpose Bruce[2] observes —

"Passing by Tyre, from curiosity only, I came to be a mournful witness of the truth of that prophecy, that Tyre, the queen of nations, should be a rock for fishers to dry their nets on. Two wretched fishermen, with miserable nets, having just given over their occupation with very little success, I engaged them, at the expense of their nets, to drag in those places where they said shell-fish might be caught, in hopes to have brought out one of the famous purple-fish. I did not succeed, but in this I was, I believe, as lucky as the old fishers had ever been. The purple-fish at Tyre seems to have been only a concealment of their knowledge of cochineal, as, had they depended upon the fish for their dye, if the whole city of Tyre applied to nothing else but fishing, they would not have coloured twenty yards of cloth in a year."

Equally solemn, but more picturesque, is the description given by the learned and enlightened Robinson;[3] with which we may well conclude our notice of Tyre:—

"I continued my walk along the shore of the penin-

[1] Early Travels in Palestine, p. 423, sq.
[2] Travels, Introduction, p. lix.
[3] Biblical Researches, v. iii. p. 395.

sula, part of which is now unoccupied, except as 'a place to spread nets upon,' musing upon the pride and fall of ancient Tyre. Here was the little isle, once covered by her palaces and surrounded by her fleets: but alas! thy riches and thy fame, thy merchandise, thy mariners and thy pilots, thy calkers and the occupiers of thy merchandise that were in thee,—where are they? Tyre has indeed become like 'the top of a rock.' The sole tokens of her more ancient splendour—columns of red and grey granite, sometimes forty or fifty heaped together, or marble pillars—lie broken and strewed beneath the waves in the midst of the sea; and the hovels that now nestle upon a portion of her site present no contradiction of the dread decree—'thou shalt be built no more.'"

PETRA.

In a previous publication,[1] I have attempted to point out certain leading features in the character of Jacob, which rendered him especially suited to be chosen as the immediate means of handing down God's will amongst his chosen people; while I have also tried to shew that "the impetuous and intemperate spirit of Esau rendered him little fitted to be the future progenitor of the Jewish race, and through that race, of the Saviour of mankind."

The early history of these two brothers is intimately connected with a notice of the sublime and mysterious ruins of Petra. The same wild, restless spirit that had, in the persons of Nimrod and other early founders of cities, led them to quit the paternal home, and seek to change the simple innocence of the patriarchal state for the bustle of a military and marauding life, to delve the rocks into architectural figures, and rear palaces that should one day rise, as it were, out of the earth, to bear witness to the ancient pride of some of her earliest children: such a spirit doubtless stimulated the energetic, but thoughtless Esau; and he who had set little store by the best gifts and choicest honours of patriarchal primogeniture, and the prophetic benediction of an aged sire, has left, in the sublime monuments of Petra, evidences that the glory of Edom had burnt forth with no common radiance before its setting rays left nought but the wandering and ignorant Arabs to tenant the deserts that had usurped the site of her ancient cities.

[1] See my edition of Calmet, s. v. Jacob, p. 403.

But although Esau had lost his birthright, although anger and disappointment for a time severed him from the brother who had, by the mysterious forewarning of God, supplanted him in attaining those rights which, in the eyes of the Hebrew, were endeared by the nearer relationship to a Creator, and the gracious promises of that "seed of woman" who was hereafter to reconcile the fallen children to the offended Sire; although he had even conceived the desire of fatally revenging the fraud by which he was so great a sufferer, the natural generosity and disinterestedness of the Eastern chief prevailed: and when he met his timid and distressed brother, "Esau fell on his neck, and kissed him, and they wept." Viewed apart from considerations to which I have already alluded, the character of Esau appears to much greater advantage than that of his brother; and subsequent traditions,[1] little agreeing with the statements of the scriptural narrative, have done little justice to the manful and generous, though thoughtless character of the founder of the race of Edom.

But his greatest offence—the offence which had most influence in severing him from the communion of God's chosen people—was his marriage with two Canaanitish women. From these nuptials, the Nabatheans and Temanites sprung.

Of the subsequent history of Esau, scripture says little, but the progress of his descendants is traced with tolerable distinctness. The Horim, the ancient inhabitants of the district of Mount Seir, were gradually[2] extirpated: and their cavern dwellings, which had furnished a shelter[3] against the excessive heat of the sun, became the lodgings, tombs, and temples of his Edomite descendants.

The term "Duke," which has been applied in our

[1] The Talmudists are followed by the Fathers, who regard Esau as the representative of the condemned.

[2] Deut. ii. 12.

[3] See Kitto, v. ii. p. 4.

own version of the Scriptures[1] to the chieftains who ruled over the Edomites, is unfortunate in conveying a feudal title of nobility in lieu of a patriarchal arrangement by which each family was subject to its own head, while a certain number of families were again obedient to a common chief. But, in process of time, these systems gave way to the kingly power; for when the Israelites applied for permission to pass through the land of Edom, their request was addressed to the king of that country;[2] and the road by which they sought to traverse is spoken of as "the king's highway."[3] Hence, it has justly been inferred that the change from the patriarchal system had taken place during the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert. It must be remembered, however, that in some instances the early authority of kings, as of Saul over the Jews, does not so much interfere with, as systematically and firmly organise, the existing state of things. Among a hardy and independent race like the descendants of Esau, an uncontrolled and oppressive monarchy would have been well nigh impossible.

The fraternal feud which had developed itself so early in the supplanting of Esau, raged hotly between the descendants of the brothers: the territory of Idumæa became more and more subject to the descendants of Jacob. Petra, or rather Selah, the "city of the rock," was finally conquered by Amaziah, who changed its name to Joktheel,[4] significantly pointing out the Divine influence that had thus verified the saying, that "the elder should serve the younger." For a time, however, it recovered its old name, until this gave way to the Roman translation of it—Petra.

[1] Gen. xxxvi. 15—42. The original term is Alluf, see Kitto, v. ii. p. 5.

[2] Numb. xx. 14.

[3] Ibid. v. 17, supposed by Robinson to be the Wady el-Ghuweir, that being almost the only valley that affords a direct and easy passage through these mountains.

[4] *i. e.* subdued of God.

The earliest notice in pagan history mentions two expeditions sent by Antigonus against the Nabathæans in Petra; and Strabo, Pliny, and Josephus mention and describe this city as forming the capital of Arabia Petræa.[1] Under the reign of Trajan, when the whole district formed a Roman province, the building of Petra probably received some of the embellishments which Roman art has engrafted on the magnificence of their original structure; and the fact that many coins have been discovered, bearing the names of his successor, Hadrian, shews that it was not neglected.[2] It appears as the metropolitan see of the third Palestine, in the ecclesiastical notices of the fifth and sixth centuries; but here all mention of it ends. It is true that writers, during the era of the Crusades, make use of the name, but they erred in applying it to Kerek: a mistake which the researches of Burckhardt, after a long lapse of centuries, has but lately fully rectified.[3] Although hindered by the officious and harassing interference of the Bedouin Arabs, this enlightened and indefatigable traveller succeeded in obtaining sufficient data to warrant the conjecture which subsequent criticism, under better opportunities, has fully and satisfactorily established.

About two long days journey north-east from Akaba, is a rivulet and valley in the Djebel-Shera, on the east side of the Araba,[4] called Wadi Mousa.

"In the red sandstone," says Burckhardt, "of which the valley is composed, are upwards of two hundred and fifty sepulchres, entirely cut out of the rock, the greater part of them with Grecian ornaments. There is a mausoleum, in the shape of a temple, of colossal dimensions, likewise cut out of the rock, with all its apartments, its vestibule, peristyle, &c. It is a most beautiful specimen of Grecian architecture, and in per-

[1] Pinedo on Steph. Byz. p. 546.
[2] It bore the name of Adriane on some coins.
[3] Cf. Robinson's Calmet, p. 238; Kitto, v. ii. p. 724
[4] *i. e.* The Valley of Ghor.

fect preservation. There are other mausolea, with obelisks, apparently in the Egyptian style: a whole amphitheatre cut out of the rock, with the remains of a palace and of several temples. Upon the summit of the mountain which closes the narrow valley on its western side, is the tomb of Haroun (Aaron, brother of Moses). It is held in great veneration by the Arabs. (If I recollect right, there is a passage in Eusebius,[1] in which he says that the tomb of Aaron was situated near Petra.) The information of Pliny and Strabo, on the site of Petra, agree with the position of Wadi Mousa."

From the ample materials collected by Dr. Robinson, a recent editor of Calmet, the following amusing and circumstantial account of researches, corroborating the previous ones of Burckhardt, is derived:—

"Passing on by Roman ruins, and occasionally Roman roads, Mr. Legh arrived at Shubac, the 20th of May. 'On the 23rd, the sheikh of Shubac, Mahomet Ebu-Raschid, arrived, and with him also came the sheikh Abou-Zeitun (father of the olive-tree), the governor of Wadi Mousa. The latter proved afterwards our most formidable enemy, and we were indebted to the courage and unyielding spirit of the former for the accomplishment of our journey, and the sight of the wonders of Petra. When we related to the two sheikhs, who had just entered the camp, our eager desire to be permitted to proceed, Abou-Zeitun swore, "by the beard of the prophet, and by the Creator, that the Caffrers, or infidels, should not come into his country." Mahomet Ebu-Raschid as warmly supported them, and 'now there arose a great dispute between the two sheikhs, in the tent, which assumed a serious aspect: the sheikh of Wadi Mousa, at length starting up, vowed that if we should dare to pass through his lands, we should be shot like so many

[1] All Burckhardt's conjectures have been confirmed by Col. Leake; see his preface to Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, p. vii. ix.

dogs. Our friend Mahomet mounted, and desired us to follow his example, which, when he saw we had done, he grasped his spear and fiercely exclaimed, "I have set them on their horses; let me see who dare stop Ebu-Raschid.' We rode along a valley, the people of Wadi Mousa, with their sheikh at their head, continuing on the high ground to the left in a parallel direction, watching our movements. In half an hour we halted at a spring, and were joined by about twenty horsemen, provided with lances, and thirty men on foot with matchlock guns, and a few double-mounted dromedaries, whose riders were well armed. On the arrival of this reinforcement, the chief, Ebu-Raschid, took an oath in the presence of his Arabs, swearing, "by the honour of their women, and by the beard of the prophet, that we," pointing to our party, "should drink of the waters of Wadi Mousa, and go wherever we pleased in their accursed country.'" Soon after they left the ravine, the rugged peak of Mount Hor was seen towering over the dark mountains on their right, with Petra under it, and Djebeltour, or Mount Sinai, distant three days journey, like a cone in the horizon. They reached Ebu-Raschid's camp, of about seven tents (usually twenty-five feet long and fourteen feet wide), in three circles, and next morning attempted, but in vain, to obtain the consent of the hostile sheikh to pass through his territory. They did not, however, come to blows; and at length they passed the much-contested stream, on which stood the mud village of Wadi Mousa: Ebu-Raschid, with an air of triumph, insisting on watering the horses at that rivulet.

"'While we halted for that purpose, we examined a sepulchre excavated on the right of the road. It was of considerable dimensions: and at the entrance of the open court that led to the inner chamber were represented two animals resembling lions or sphinxes, but much disfigured, of colossal size. As this was the first object of curiosity that presented itself, we began

to measure its dimensions; but our guides grew impatient, and said, that if we intended to be so accurate in our survey of all the extraordinary places we should see, we should not finish in ten thousand years.' They therefore remounted and rode on through niches sculptured in the rocks, frequent representations of rude stones, mysterious symbols of an indefinite figure detached in relief, water-courses of earthen pipes, arches, aqueducts, and all the signs of a wonderful period in the ancient annals of this memorable scene. 'We continued (says the narrative) to explore the gloomy winding passage for the distance of about two miles, gradually descending, when the beautiful façade of a temple burst on our view. A statue of Victory with wings filled the centre of an aperture like an attic window, while groups of colossal figures, representing a centaur and a young man, were placed on each side of a portico of lofty proportion, comprising two stories, and deficient in nothing but a single column. The temple was entirely excavated from the solid rock, and, preserved from the ravages of time and the weather by the massive projections of the natural cliffs above, in a state of exquisite and inconceivable perfection; but the interior chambers were comparatively small, and appeared unworthy of so magnificent a portico. On the summit of the front was placed a vase, hewn also out of the solid rock, conceived by the Arabs to be filled with the most valuable treasure, and shewing, in the numerous shot-marks on its exterior, so many proofs of their avidity; for it is so situated as to be inaccessible to other attacks. This was the husna, or treasure of Pharaoh, as it is called by the natives, which Ebu-Raschid swore we should behold.' A colossal vase, belonging, probably, to another temple, was seen by Captains Irby and Mangles, at some distance to the westward; and many excavated chambers were found in front of this temple of Victory. About three hundred yards farther on was an amphitheatre: 'Thirty-three steps (gradini) were to be counted; but, unfor-

tunately, the proscenium, not having been excavated like the other parts, but built, was in ruins.' The remains of a palace, and immense numbers of bricks, tiles, &c., presented themselves on a large open space, while 'the rocks which enclosed it on all sides, with the exception of the north-east, were hollowed out into innumerable chambers of different dimensions, whose entrances were variously, richly, and often fantastically decorated with every imaginable order of architecture.'"

"Nothing," says another traveller,[1] "contributes so much to the almost magical effect of some of these monuments as the rich and various colours of the rock out of which, or, more properly, in which they are formed. Many of these are adorned with such a profusion of the most lovely and brilliant colours, as I believe it is quite impossible to describe: red, purple, yellow, azure or sky-blue, black, and white, are seen in the same mass distinctly in successive layers, or blended so as to form every shade and hue of which they are capable—as brilliant and as soft as they ever appear in flowers, or in the plumage of birds, or in the sky when illuminated by the most glorious sunset. The red perpetually shades into pale or deep rose, or flesh colour. The purple is sometimes very dark, and again approaches the hue of the lilac or violet. The white, which is often as pure as snow, is occasionally just dashed with blue or red. The blue is usually the pale azure of the clear sky, or of the ocean, but sometimes has the deep and peculiar shape of the clouds in summer when agitated by a tempest."

In this valley of wonders, in this excavated city, where the glories of the palace, and the pomp of the temple mingle with the corruption of tombs, and the desolation formed by the ruins of dwellings, once rife with art and industry—in this desert of civilization, studded with the monuments of a race of heroes, whose structures attracted the notice and sought restoration at the

[1] Dr. Olin, already quoted in my edition of Calmet.

hands of the Romans—here, in the midst of a ruined city that Nature seems to have sought to shield from desolation by an insuperable barrier of mountains, beneath the façade of the temple where thousands worshipped, on the benches of the theatre, where a like number laughed away the hour that might never return, or in the recesses of those caverns which received all the flower of Edom—save those whose bones whitened on the battle-field—here may we pause a while, and listen to the voice, which forewarned the children of Esau of their doom—here may we lament over one more instance of the vanity of man rearing up the proudest monuments of his disobedience and humiliation.[1]

"I will bring the calamity of Esau upon him, the time that I will visit him. If grape-gatherers come to thee, would they not leave some gleaning grapes? if thieves by night, they will destroy till they have enough. But I have made Esau bare, I have uncovered his secret places, and he shall not be able to hide himself. Behold they whose judgment was not to drink of the cup have assuredly drunken; and art thou he that shall altogether go unpunished? thou shalt not go unpunished, but thou shalt surely drink of it. I have sworn by myself, saith the Lord, that Bozrah, the strong city, shall become a desolation, a reproach, a waste, and a curse; and all the cities thereof shall be perpetual wastes. Lo, I will make thee small among the heathen, and despised among men. Thy terribleness hath deceived thee, and the pride of thine heart, O thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, that holdest the height of the hill: though thou shouldst make thy nest as high as the eagle, I will bring thee down from thence, saith the Lord. Also Edom shall be a desolation; every one that goeth by it shall be astonished, and shall hiss at all the plagues thereof. As in the overthrow of Sodom and

[1] To the reader who is desirous of minutely contrasting the details of the prophecies (of which only a specimen is here given) with those of their fulfilment, I must recommend Dr. Eadie's article on Petra, in his Biblical Cyclopædia, p. 457, sq.

Gomorrah, and the neighbour cities thereof, saith the Lord, no man shall abide there, neither shall a son of man dwell in it."[1] "Thou shalt be desolate, O Mount Seir, and all Idumea, even all of it: and they shall know that I am the Lord."[2] "Edom shall be a desolate wilderness."[3] "For three transgressions of Edom, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof."[4] "Thus saith the Lord concerning Edom, I have made thee small among the heathen, thou art greatly despised. The pride of thine heart hath deceived thee, thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rock, whose habitation is high."[5] "Shall I not destroy the wise men out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau? The house of Jacob shall possess their possessions." "I laid the mountains of Esau and his heritage waste for the dragons of the wilderness."[6]

Complete and melancholy as is the ruin that attests the fulfilment of the "burden of Edom," forgotten and unclaimed (even by the barbarians that infest the district) as are the edifices which cover and surround the gloomy valley of death that even Roman magnificence once admired for the splendour of its structures, careful investigation has shown that Petra, in its prosperous days, might once have contained a population equal to that of Athens.[7] But while we cannot deny the elaborate magnificence and wondrous toil which has excavated the rocks of the Edomite Selah into a city of wonders, we must remember that it is extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, to assign each building, or rather, the improvements and alterations which the buildings have undergone, to their proper ages. The mixture of orders is alone sufficient to show the modifications through which Petra has passed; and it is for this reason that I shall pay more minute attention to the tombs hewn in the rocks, the extent of which is only surpassed

[1] Jer. xlix. 8, sqq. [2] Ezek. xxxv. 15. [3] Joel, iii. 19.
[4] Amos i. 11. [5] Obad. i. 1, sqq. [6] Mal. i. 3.
[7] See the remarks abridged from Dr. Olin, in Kitto, v. ii. p. 725.

by the symmetry of their proportions and their fitness for the melancholy office to which they were destined

After the Creator had doomed the fallen Adam to return to the dust from whence and of which he came —a doom in which all his helpless, yet not uncared-for descendants were to participate—man, weeping over the dearly-cherished, but disfigured and corrupting remains of those he had once loved, sought to lay their corses in the earth, which seemed to open her bosom to receive once more those who had been fed by her gifts. Whether in the burrows of our own ancestors, or in the cave which the chosen of patriarchs purchased as a sepulchre for his wife, and which remained as an heir-loom for the heads of succeeding generations—the earth ever claims her own. Hence, as a taste for sculpture, and a greater earnestness in labours of art developed themselves—artificial caves became the cemeteries of the dead, and in the rock-tombs of Petra, as in those of Persepolis, we read the fulfilment of the same sad, but instructive prophecy.

"Were those excavations," says Dr. Kitto,[1] "instead of following all the sinuosities of the mountain and its numerous gorges, ranged in regular order, they probably would form a street not less than five or six miles in length. They are often seen rising one above another in the face of the cliff, and convenient steps, now much worn, cut in the rock, lead in all directions through the fissures, and along the sides of the mountains, to the various tombs that occupy these lofty positions. Some of them are apparently not less than from two hundred to three or four hundred feet above the level of the valley. Conspicuous situations, visible from below, were generally chosen; but sometimes the opposite taste prevailed, and the most secluded cliffs, fronting to some dark ravine, and quite hidden from the gaze of the multitude, were preferred. The flights of steps, all cut in the solid rock, are almost innumerable, and they ascend to great heights, as well as in all directions. Sometimes the connection with the city is interrupted,

[1] Cyclop. v. ii. p. 726.

and one sees in a gorge, or upon the face of a cliff, fifty or a hundred feet above him, a long series of steps rising from the edge of an inaccessible precipice. The action of winter torrents, and other agencies have worn the easy ascent into a channel for the waters, and thus interrupted the communication.

"The situations of these excavations are not more various than their forms and dimensions. Mere niches are sometimes cut in the face of the rock, of little depth, and of various sizes and forms, of which it is difficult to conjecture the object, unless they had some connection with votive offerings and religious rites. By far the largest number of excavations were manifestly designed as places for the interment of the dead; and thus exhibit a variety in form and size, of interior arrangement and external decorations, adapted to the different fortunes of their occupants, and conformable to the prevailing tastes of the times in which they were made. There are many tombs consisting of a single chamber, ten, fifteen, or twenty feet square, by ten or twelve in height, containing a recess in the wall large enough to receive one or a few deposits; sometimes on a level with the floor, at others one or two feet above it, and not unfrequently near the ceiling, at the height of eight or ten feet. Occasionally, oblong pits or graves are sunk in the recesses, or in the floor of the principal apartment. Some of these are of considerable depth, but they are mostly choked with stones and rubbish, so that it is impossible to ascertain it. In these plebeian tombs, there is commonly a door of small dimensions, and an absence of all architectural decorations; in some of larger dimensions, there are several recesses occupying two or three sides of the apartment. These seem to have been formed for family tombs. Besides these unadorned habitations of the humble dead, there is a vast number of excavations enriched with various architectural ornaments. To these unique and sumptuous monuments of the taste of one of the most ancient races of men with whom history

has made us acquainted, Petra is indebted for its great and peculiar attractions. This ornamental architecture is wholly confined to the front, while the interior is quite plain and destitute of all decoration. Pass the threshold, and nothing is seen but perpendicular walls, bearing the marks of the chisel, without mouldings, columns, or any species of ornament. But the exteriors of these primitive, and even rude apartments, exhibit some of the most beautiful and imposing results of ancient taste and skill, which have remained to our times. The front of the mountain is wrought into façades of splendid temples, rivalling in their aspect and symmetry the most celebrated monuments of Grecian art. Columns of various orders, graceful pediments, broad rich entablatures, and sometimes statuary, all hewn out of the solid rock, and still forming part of the native mass, transform the base of the mountain into a vast splendid pile of architecture; while the overhanging cliffs, towering above in shapes as rugged and wild as any on which the eye ever rested, form the most striking and curious of contrasts. In most instances it is impossible to assign these beautiful façades to any particular style of architecture. Many of the columns resemble those of the Corinthian order; but they deviate so far both in their forms and ornaments from this elegant model, that it would be impossible to rank them in the class. A few are Doric, which are precisely those that have suffered most from the ravages of time, and are probably very ancient."

THE ROCK-HEWN CITIES OF INDIA.

SOME apology is due to the reader, for abruptly conveying him into the region of Bombay, and the picturesque details with which I hope to present him will scarcely excuse the seeming eccentricity of so rapid a transportation. But we have just been dwelling on the beauties of Petra, and, aided by the experienced pen of eye-witnesses and connoisseurs, we have sought to form a just appreciation of the mighty wonders of the rock-city, to penetrate into the stillness of her tombs, to pace the courts of her temples, and to marvel at the utter destruction of the race of men who chiselled the amphitheatre of the mighty valley into forms that, both for grandeur of dimension and beauty of finish, rival our own proudest structures. But no better parallel (however historically remote) can be formed to the rock-city of Arabia-Petræa, than the wondrous region of rock-hewn temples, which extends through so large a portion of India as we are now about to describe. Although their antiquity is comparatively moderate, although very irregular and uncertain estimates have been formed of their architectural merits, there can be no doubt that, if their extent alone be taken as a standard of our admiration, they must take a high place among the sublimest proofs of man's ill-directed labours in honour of a false belief; and, in this respect, the ruins of Indian temples belong as much to our plan, and are as fraught with wholesome lessons of morality, as the fragments which bear witness to the downfall of Assyrian greatness.

But, the reader will object, the cave-temples and

tombs of Ellora and the surrounding islands, cannot be regarded as ancient "cities." As ill can they be regarded as temples and sepulchres only. The absence of private dwellings and other buildings is easily accounted for, when we recollect that the ruins of the greatest Egyptian cities present the same phenomena. The perishable materials of which the dwellings of the common people were composed, have involved them, long since, in the same destruction as their inhabitants; and while we in vain seek for a single evidence of the men who intruded into the very bowels of the earth, to rear the symbols of Buddhism, while we vainly look for a vestige of the trains of priests and worshippers that, like the ants beneath the hillock, made the hewn rock teem with life—these gigantic excavations, like one mighty Necropolis, bid us think of nought but death, and the grotesque figures of deities, seated in grim tranquillity, seem to muse thoughtfully upon the ruin that attests the fall of their worship.

Although, in discussing the subject of Indian worship, the structures to which it gave rise, and the symbolism in which it sought to embody its principles, we cannot be sufficiently careful to avoid falling into a too ready taste for parallelism with Greek or Oriental analogies—[1] yet we must recognise one common feature throughout the world; and that is, that the greatness of a nation generally attests its culmination in the edifices it rears in the cause of religion. Even in the middle ages, in our own country, the prowess of the warrior, the successful diplomacy of the courtier, and frequently the private prosperity of an individual, have displayed themselves in the founding and endowing of religious establishments. Obscure as are the annals of Egypt, history is unvarying in placing the epoch of its greatest work as coëval with its proudest prosperity. Examples, already numerously instanced in

[1] A mistake from which I have already laboured to free Taylor's edition of Calmet. Maurice's Indian Antiquities is sadly leavened with the same error.

this little volume, are sufficient to shew that the cave temples of India belong to an era of her greatness—to the reign and career of a race of whom we have not even a lucid page of tradition; and, although we know nothing of the history of their founders, we must judge of the artist by the picture, and imagine the Hindoos of old, from the structures that once called them their masters.

As we can give little or nothing of an historical character, in connection with these excavations, we must content ourselves with describing, as far as we are able, the magnificent ruins which remain to attest the progress and influence of Buddhism, and conclude with a sketch of the religion itself.

One of the earliest Indian monuments that attracted the notice of European travellers, was the cave-temple of Elephanta, situated in a beautiful island of the same name.[1] This island lies in the Bay of Bombay, seven miles from Bombay Castle; it measures about six miles in circumference, being composed of two long hills enclosing a narrow valley. The island has taken its popular name from a colossal statue of an elephant, cut out of a detached mass of blackish rock, and supporting another smaller figure, probably that of a tiger,[2] on its back. The length of this colossus, which measures thirteen feet two inches, from the forehead to the root of the tail, stands about 250 yards to the right of the landing-place on the southern part of the island.

After proceeding up the valley for some distance, the mountains unite, and we find ourselves in the middle of a narrow path; after ascending which, we enjoy at the summit a beautiful prospect of the northern part of the island, and the opposite shores

[1] Called by the natives Gorupara, *i. e. the mountain city.*

[2] Some say a young elephant. Among the whimsical figures which surround the grand quad of Magdalen College, at Oxford, is a similar one of a sea-horse with a young one on its back.

of its neighbour, Salsette. Then, in the words of Mr. Erskine,—

"Advancing forward, and keeping to the left along the bend of the hill, we gradually mount to an open space, and come suddenly on the grand entrance of a magnificent temple, whose huge massy columns seem to give support to the whole mountain which rises above it.

"The entrance into this temple, which is entirely hewn out of a stone resembling porphyry, is by a spacious front supported by two massive pillars and two pilasters, forming three openings, under a thick and steep rock overhung by brushwood and wild shrubs. The long ranges of columns that appear closing in perspective on every side—the flat roof of solid rock that seems to be prevented from falling only by the massy pillars, whose capitals are pressed down and flattened as if by the superincumbent weight—the darkness that obscures the interior of the temple, which is dimly lighted only by the entrances; and the gloomy appearance of the gigantic stone figures ranged along the wall, and hewn, like the whole temple, out of the living rock, joined to the strange uncertainty that hangs over the history of this place—carry the mind back to distant periods, and impress it with that kind of uncertain religious awe with which the grander works of ages of darkness are generally contemplated.

"The whole excavation consists of three principal parts: the great temple itself, which is in the centre; and two smaller chapels, one on each side of the great temple. These two chapels do not come forward in a straight line with the front of the chief temple, are not perceived on approaching the temple, and are considerably in recess, being approached by two narrow passes in the hill, one on each side of the grand entrance, but at some distance from it. After advancing to some distance up these confined passes' we find each of them conduct to another front of the

grand excavation, exactly like the principal front which is first seen; all the three fronts being hollowed out of the solid rock, and each consisting of two huge pillars with two pilasters. The two side fronts are precisely opposite to each other on the east and west, the grand entrance facing the north. The two wings of the temple are at the upper end of these passages, and are close by the grand excavation, but have no covered passage to connect them with it."[1]

From the northern entrance to the extremity, this cave measures about 130½ feet, and from east to west, 133. The regular disposition of the columns, and the accurate arrangements for the support of the roof, are sufficient to prove the correctness of those who consider the rock-excavations of India as posterior to a knowledge of the construction of a regular building.[2] We must not, therefore, look upon these structures as evincing an antiquity higher than that of buildings regularly erected above ground, but rather as successful adaptations of the rules of an art already well known and extensively practised. In respect to the figures which adorn this cave, a judicious traveller has remarked:—"Gigantic as the figures are, the mind is not disagreeably moved on viewing in them a certain indication of the harmony of the proportions. Having measured three or four, and examined the proportions by the scale we allow most correct, I found many stood even this test, while the disagreements were not equal to what are met with every day in people whom we think by no means ill-proportioned."[3] Another traveller, however, remarks, that the grand temple of Salsette, although inferior in its other dimensions, considerably excels in height; while "notwithstanding the numerous and richer decorations at Ele-

[1] Quoted by Long, Egyptian Antiq., i. p. 178, sqq.

[2] See Long, *ibid.* p. 203.

[3] Goldingham, Asiatic Researches, iv. p. 424, sqq.

phanta, the spectator is constantly reminded of being in a cave."[1]

In the neighbouring island of Salsette, there are excavations on a grander scale. To the enlightened and tasteful pen of Bishop Heber, we are indebted for the following elaborate account of the grand temples of Kennery:—

"These are, certainly, in every way remarkable from their number, their beautiful situation, their elaborate carvings, and their marked connection with Buddha and his religion. The caves are scattered over two sides of a high rocky hill, at many different elevations, and of various sizes and forms. Most of them appear to have been places of habitation for monks or hermits. One very beautiful apartment, of a square form, its walls covered with sculpture, and surrounded internally by a broad stone bench, is called 'the durbar;' but I should rather guess had been a school. Many have deep and well-carved cisterns attached to them, which, even in this dry season (May), were well supplied with water. The largest and most remarkable of all is a Buddhist temple, of great beauty and majesty, and which, even in its present state, would make a very stately and convenient place of Christian worship. It is entered through a fine and lofty portico, having on the front, but a little to the left hand, a high detached octagonal pillar, surmounted by three lions seated back to back. On each side of the portico is a colossal statue of Buddha, with his hands raised in the attitude of benediction, and the screen which separates the vestibule from the temple is covered, immediately above the dodo, with a row of male and female figures, nearly naked, but not

[1] Forbes, Oriental Memoirs, i. p. 429, sq. See Hindoos, i. p. 194, sq., a pleasant and judicious compilation, but disgraced by scandalous woodcuts. Bishop Heber, however, confesses that "the original much exceeded his expectations, and that both the dimensions, the proportions, and the sculpture, seemed to be of a much more noble character."

indecent, and carved with considerable spirit, which apparently represent dancers.—In the centre of the semicircle, and with a free walk all round it, is a mass of rock left solid, but carved externally like a dome, and so as to bear a strong general likeness to our Saviour's sepulchre, as it is now chiselled away and enclosed in St. Helena's Church at Jerusalem. On the top of the dome is a sort of spreading ornament, like the capital of a column. It is apparently intended to support something, and I was afterwards told at Carli, where such an ornament, but of greater size, is likewise found, that a large gilt umbrella used to spring from it. This solid dome appears to be the usual symbol of Buddhist adoration, and, with its umbrella ornament, may be traced in the Shoo-Madoo of Pegu, and other more remote structures of the same faith. Though it is different in its form and style of ornament from the Lingam, I cannot help thinking it has been originally intended to represent the same popular object of that almost universal idolatry. The ceiling of this cave is arched semicircularly and ornamented, in a very singular manner, with slender ribs of teak wood of the same curve with the roof, and disposed as if they were supporting it; which, however, it does not require. Nor are they strong enough to answer the purpose. Their use may have been to hang lamps or flowers from in solemn rejoicings."[1]

Let us continue, with the same traveller, to investigate the wonders of Carli, despairing, as we do, of furnishing a more eloquent and tasteful description:—

"This celebrated cavern is hewn on the face of a precipice about two-thirds up the side of a steep hill, rising, with a very scarped and regular talus, to the height of, probably, eight hundred feet above the plain. The excavations consist, beside the principal temple, of many smaller apartments, and galleries in two stories, some of them ornamented with great beauty, and evidently intended, like those at Kennery,

[1] Narrative of a Journey, &c., iii. p. 92-5.

for the lodging of monks or hermits. The temple itself is on the same general plan as that of Kennery, but half as large again, and far finer and richer. It is approached by a steep and narrow path winding up the side of the hill among trees and brushwood, and fragments of rock. This brought us to a mean and ruinous temple of Siva, which serves as a sort of gateway to the cave: a similar small building stands on the right hand of its portico. . . . . The approach to the temple is, like that of Kennery, under a noble arch, fitted up with a sort of portico screen, in two stories of three intercolumniations below, and five above. In the front, but a little to the left, is the same kind of pillar as is seen at Kennery, though of larger dimensions, surmounted by three lions back to back. Within the portico, to the right and left, are three colossal figures, in alto-relievo, of elephants, their faces looking towards the person who arrives in the portico, and their heads, tusks, and trunks, very boldly projecting from the wall. On each of them is a mohout very well carved, and a howdah with two persons seated in it. The internal screen on each side of the door is covered, as at Kennery, with alto-relievos, very bold and somewhat larger than life, of naked male and female figures. I asked our young guides what deities these represented, and was surprised to hear from them in answer,—'These are not gods, one god is sufficient, these are viragees' (religious enthusiasts, or attendants on the deity). On asking, however, if their god was the same whom they worshipped in the little temple before the steps, and if he were Maha Deo, they answered in the affirmative, so that their deism merely extended to paying worship to a single idol only. There is certainly, however, no image either of Buddha or any other mythological personage about this cavern, nor any visible object of devotion, except the mystic chettah, or umbrella, already mentioned at Kennery. The details of the cave within having been already more than

once published, and as, in its general arrangement, it closely answers to Kennery, I will only observe, that both in dimensions and execution, it is much nobler and more elaborate; and that the capitals of the columns (all of them at least which are not hidden by the chettah at the east end) are very singular and beautiful. Each consists of a large cup, like a bell, finely carved, and surmounted by two elephants with their trunks intertwined, and each carrying two male and one female figure, which our guides again told us were viragees. The timber ribs which decorate the roof, whatever their use may have been, are very perfect, and have a good effect in the perspective of the interior, which is all extremely clean, and in good repair, and would be, in fact, a very noble temple for any religion."[1]

But it is in the ruins of Ellora that we must seek for the consummation of Indian art in the construction of sacred edifices.

These temples are situated in the province of Hyderabad, about twenty miles north-west from Desghir or Tagara, the capital of Aurungabad, and 239 miles east of Bombay. It may be considered as near the centre of India. Here we have a granite mountain, forming a vast amphitheatre, completely chiselled out from top to bottom, and filled with innumerable temples; the god Siva alone having, it is said, about twenty appropriated to himself. To describe the numerous galleries and rows of pillars which support various chambers, lying one above another; the steps, porticos, and bridges of rock over canals, also hewn out of the solid rock, would be impossible; and we recommend those who have the opportunity to look at Daniell's designs,[2] which, incomplete as they are, and on too small a scale, will serve to give some idea of this wonderful place. The chief

[1] Journal, iii. p. 112, sq.

[2] See the magnificent folio to which Professor Long refers, Egypt. Ant. i. p. 183.

temple in this mountain is called Kailasa,[1] which we enter from under a balcony; after which we come to an ante-chamber 138 feet wide, by 88 feet in length, with many rows of pillars and chambers adjoining them. From this chamber we pass through a grand portico, and over a bridge, into a huge cavern-chamber, or rather court, open to the sky, with the huge masses of the natural rock overhanging the pillars around. In the middle of this court stands the great temple, which is excavated from the upper region of the rock, and appears like a grand building. It is connected with the gateway by a bridge left out of the rock, as the mass of the mountain was excavated. Beneath this bridge, at the end opposite the entrance, there is a figure of Bowanee sitting on a lotus, with two elephants with their trunks joined, as though fighting over her head. On each side of the passage, under the bridge, is an elephant, one of which has lost its head, the other its trunk, and both are much shortened of their height by earth. There are, likewise, ranges of apartments on each side behind the elephants, of which those on the left are much the finest, being handsomely decorated with figures: advanced in the area, beyond the elephants, are two obelisks, of a square form, handsomely graduated to the commencement of the capitals, which seem to have been crowned with ornaments."[2]

The temple itself measures 103 feet long, and 56 feet wide, and rises to a height of 100 feet, in a pyramidal form. It is hollowed out to the height of seventeen feet, and supported by four rows of pillars, fronted by colossal elephants. These monsters seem to give life and vigour to the general design, whilst the whole building, resembling one of the most magnificent of the pyramidal temples,[3] is covered with sculptures. "The

[1] Kailas, or Paradise. See Asiatic Researches, vi. p. 404, sqq., where minute particulars of measurement, &c., are given.

[2] Asiatic Researches, vi. p. 405.

[3] An evidence of its Buddhistic origin. Buchanan has observed (Asiatic Researches, vi. p. 293), that "the largest and

first view of this desolate religious city," says Erskine, "is grand and striking, but melancholy. The number and magnificence of the subterraneous temples, the extent and loftiness of some, the endless diversity of sculpture in others, the variety of curious foliage, of minute tracery, highly wrought pillars, rich mythological designs, sacred shrines, and colossal statues astonish but distract the mind. From their number and diversity, it is impossible to form any idea of the whole; and the first impressions only give way to a wonder not less natural, that such prodigious efforts of labour and skill should remain, from times certainly not barbarous, without a trace to tell us the hand by which they were designed, or the populous and powerful nation by which they were completed."

Before entering upon a brief sketch of the Buddhist theology, or rather, of the modified form of Hindoo divinity, which is generally traced to Buddhism, a glance at the older theology of India must detain us for a brief period.

most celebrated temples are generally in the form of a pyramid, and are supposed to contain some of those relics, such as a tooth, a bone, a hair, or a garment. To these temples, as containing the sacred relic, the prayers of the devout are addressed, and their offerings presented. The pyramids are often of a great size, constructed of solid brickwork plastered over, and generally placed on a prodigious elevated terrace. The base of the pyramid is frequently surmounted by a double row of small ones, and the summits of the whole are always crowned with umbrellas, made of a combination of iron bars, into a kind of filagree-work, and adorned with bells. Many of these pyramids are from three to five hundred feet high. In the larger temples, the umbrella, with at least the upper part of the pyramid, and often the whole, is entirely gilded over, and then the title of *Shué*, or golden, is bestowed on the edifice. Other temples of nearly a similar structure, but hollow within, containing images of GODAMA, to which the adoration of his disciples is directed. Both these descriptions of temples are in common called *Burā*, which M. LOUBÈRE writes *Pra*, and says that it means respectable." [Unfortunately for M. Loubère, the word *bara* is a modern Hindūstānī word meaning *great*, a term applicable enough to the Rock Temples.—Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie.]

L

One of the most natural errors to which a belief in the unity of the Deity, connected with a habitual observation of the operations of nature, and a recognition of their various influence on the life of man, is Pantheism, by which the Creator is mixed up with his own work in indiscriminate confusion. This principle, developed as well in the Pseud-Orphic hymns to which the whimsicalities and ultra-conceptualism of the Neo-Platonic school gave birth, as in the doctrinal books of the Védas, has existed in various forms, at the root of almost every heresy that has turned the mind of the worshipper aside from the primitive doctrine once inculcated. Although, however, the numberless names of deities which appear in the theological systems of the Hindoos at first appear to be as various as the authors of the prayers addressed to them, yet, according to the most ancient commentaries[1] on the Indian scriptures, they are all resolvable into different titles of three deities (respectively synonymous with fire, air, and the sun), and ultimately of one God.[2]

Among the Védas many passages are found, in which we discover traces of the same spirit which led the vain and pedantic disciples of Gnosticism to seek to sever their intellectual faculties from the grosser ones of the body, and to mount, in imagination, into the realms of thought, till the soul united itself with the

[1] It may amuse the reader to know that the commentaries on the Védas amount to about 40,000 volumes, some of them of tolerable dimensions. In this respect, the Vedas are as badly off as Thucydides, the Greek Testament, or Peter of Lombardy. The number of Vedas, by the way, is but four: the *Rich* or *Rig-Veda*, a collection of hymns of very obscure authorship, but magnificent in themselves; the *Sama-Veda*, a book evidently compiled from the former; the *Yajur-Veda*, an interesting work in many respects, as it affords a view of the ideas of the ancients on many points connected with anatomy, physics, and natural philosophy in general; the last of the Vedas is the *Atharva-Veda*, and has been borrowed for the most part from the *Rich*. It is much to be regretted that these noble works, as well as the Wooking and Shooking of Kung-foo-tze (Confucius), are not better known in this country than they are. [2] Hindoos, i. p. 144.

Great Invisible after which it was striving. Charity, however, may with reason discover a far better and purer motive in the aspirations of the Brahmin after his Creator, in his indistinct, yet highly coloured attempts to describe that mysterious power; and in the glowing skies, deep jungles, lofty mountains, and gigantic valleys of India, we may find enough to excite the thoughts, inflame the imagination, and animate the eccentric, Ossian-like language of the Hindoo devotee.

I cannot better convey an idea of this rude sublimity of theological expression, than by an extract from the Védas, in which assertion of the unity of the Creator is blended with the pantheistical principles to which allusion has been made:—

"Fire is that original cause; the sun is *that;* so is air; so is the moon; such too is the pure Brahm,[1] and those waters, and that lord of creatures. Moments, and other measures of time, proceeded from the effulgent person, whom none can apprehend as an object of perception, above, around, or in the midst. Of him whose glory is so great, there is no image; he it is who is celebrated in various holy strains. Even he is the God who pervades all regions; he is the first-born; it is he who is in the womb: he who is born; and he who will be produced: he severally and universally remains with all persons. He, prior to whom nothing was born, and who became all things; himself the lord of creatures, with a body composed of sixteen members, being delighted by creation, produced the three luminaries, the sun, the moon, and fire. To what God should we offer oblations but to him who made the fluid sky and solid earth; who fixed the solar orb and celestial abode; and who formed drops of rain in the atmosphere? To what God should we offer oblations but to him whom heaven

[1] The reader must distinguish between Brahme or Brahm, the one incomprehensible and only God, and Brahma, the first of three persons in the Trimurti, or Hindoo Trinity. Colonel Tod considers that pure theism once existed in India, and mentions a large temple at Cheetore, dedicated to Bramha, "the ONE Creator."

and earth mentally contemplate, while they are strengthened and embellished by offerings, and illuminated by the sun rising above them. The wise man views that mysterious Being in whom the universe perpetually exists, resting on that sole support. In him this world is absorbed; from him it issues; in creatures he is twined and wove with various forms of existence. Let the wise man who is conversant with the import of revelation, promptly celebrate that immortal Being, the mysteriously existing and various abode: he who knows its three states (its creation, continuance, and destruction), which are involved in mystery, is father of the father. That Brahme in whom the gods attain immortality, while they abide in the third or celestial region, is our venerable parent, and the providence which governs all worlds."[1]

Among the elements, which thus became objects of the mistaken adoration of the Hindoos, water seems to have been regarded with the greatest reverence. As with the Pythagoreans of old, early bathings, repeated at different intervals of the day, formed a leading feature in Brahminical devotion, and the liturgies of India abound with precepts respecting the time and manner of such ablutions. But, besides considering water as the all-cleansing type of mental and bodily purity, the Hindoos, like the philosophers of the Ionic school,[2] held water to be the first-existing, and all pervading principle, at the same time allowing the co-operation and influence of an immaterial intelligence in the work of creation.

Fire, under the name of Agni, and Earth, also claimed their godhead in due time, and earth, water, and fire became the types of a trinity named Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva: the first, as the universal mother of all

[1] Asiatic Researches, viii. p. 431—3.

[2] Thales, for instance. See Stanley's History of Philosophy, Part i. chap. vi. p. 5, a work which has furnished materials for more subsequent writers than have thought fit to acknowledge their obligations.

creatures; the second as the preserver of whatever the earth engenders; the third, as the twofold principle which not only invigorates all animated nature, but also accelerates dissolution and decay—a process equally necessary, since from corruption nature is restored and germinates anew.[1]

Sabaism was the next form of idolatry, and perhaps the least reprehensible. "For," it has been elegantly observed,[2] "to the rude untutored eye, the 'Host of Heaven,' clothed in that calm beauty which distinguishes an oriental night, might well appear to be instinct with some divine principle, endowed with consciousness, and the power to influence, from its throne of unchanging splendour on high, the fortunes of transitory mortals." Sublime is the description of night which, in the charming version of Sir William Jones,[3] we here present to the attention of the reader.

"Night approaches, illumined with stars and planets, and, looking on all sides with numberless eyes,[4] overpowers all meaner lights. The immortal goddess pervades the firmament, covering the low valleys and shrubs,[5] the lofty mountains and trees, but soon she disturbs the gloom with celestial effulgence. Advancing with brightness, at length she recalls her sister morning; and the nightly shade gradually melts away.

[1] This is the substance of the Abbé Dubois' theory. Hindoos, i. p. 152.

[2] Ibid. p. 153.

[3] Extracts from the Vedas, Works, xvii. p. 380, sq.

[4] I may be excused attempting a version of a beautiful parallel in Plato's celebrated epigram to his beloved (apud Apul. Apol.):—

"Star of my life, O might I Heaven be,
And gaze with myriad eyes on thee!"

[5] This delightful description of night suffers little by the side of the many similar passages found in the greatest poets. I would refer the classic reader to Theocritus, Idyll. ii. 38; Apoll. Rhod., iv. 743; Alcman, fragm. p. 25 (ed. Welcker); Pseud-Orpheus, Argon. 1007; Virg. Æn. iv. 522; Statius, Silv. v. od. ad. somnum.

May she at this time be propitious! She, in whose early watch we may calmly recline in our mansions, as birds repose on the trees. Mankind now sleep in their towns; now herds and flocks peacefully slumber, and winged creatures, swift falcons, and vultures. O night! avert from us the she-wolf and the wolf; and, oh! suffer us to pass thee in soothing rest! Oh, morn! remove in due time this black, yet visible overwhelming darkness, which at present enfolds me, as thou enablest me to remove the cloud of their dells. Daughter of Heaven, I approach thee with praise, as the cow approaches her milker; accept, O night! not the hymn only, but the oblation of thy suppliant, who prays that his foes may be subdued."

Nor are the addresses to the sun less replete with enthusiastic adoration, and Sir William Jones has even supposed that the whole triad of the Trimurti were identical with the sun, expressed under the mystical term OM.[1] Like the Phœbus of the Grecian mythology, he has his car, drawn by seven green horses, and is preceded by Aurora, or the dawn, who acts as his charioteer.[2] Nevertheless, the worship of water takes precedence of that of the sun, in the present ritual of the Brahmins. When, however, the primeval element, water, has received its due meed of adoration, the Brahmin proceeds to pay his devoirs to the sun,[3] standing on one foot and resting the other against his ankle or heel. In this position he mutters the following prayer:—

"The rays of light commence, the splendid fiery sun beautifully rising to illumine the universe. He rises, wonderful, the eye of the sun, of water, and of fire, collective power of God, he fills heaven, earth, and sky, with his luminous net; he is the soul of all, which is

[1] A curious coincidence with the Egyptian ON (the Greek ὤν) denoting *existence*.

[2] Asiatic Researches, i. p. 262.

[3] Dancing in honour of the sun was another part of the ancient Hindoo ritual.—Lomeier de Lustrationibus, chap. xxxiii. p. 416.

fixed in locomotion. That eye, supremely beneficial, rises pure from the east; may we see him a hundred years; may we live a hundred years; may we hear a hundred years. May we be preserved by the divine power, contemplating heaven above the region of darkness, approach the deity, most splendid of luminaries."

I must regret that the limits of my work prevent my dwelling longer on so interesting a subject, and must pass over many other forms of creed and worship, almost infinite in their variety, and revert to the subject most closely connected with the temples of Ellora,—the revolution in religion effected by Buddha, of whose principles these temples exhibit numerous traces.

If we were certain as to the time when Buddhism arose, much of the gloomy uncertainty which invests these ruins would be dissipated, and we should be enabled to form at least some probable conjectures as to their probable date, if not as to their founders. But it happens, unfortunately, that no chronological subject, except perhaps the early dynasties of Egypt, is so beset with contradictory statements and theories.[1]

[1] According to the opinion of Dr. Buchanan in Asiat. Research. (l. c.) the exact time would be B.C. 546, following the account in the text, which answers to 2341 years of the Julian reckoning. Some other sadly conflicting dates are given, which it were confusion to the reader to extract. We may add, however, that "Sir William Jones fixes the first appearance of Buddhism about 1000 B.C., but his argument rests upon very weak grounds, and, if the Puranas are admitted to be of any authority, it is wholly untenable; for whatever antiquity may be ascribed to Buddha, considered as a manifestation of Vishnu for the purpose of local and temporary delusion, there are clearly no grounds, mythological, traditional, or historical, for placing the origin of this sect higher than the period of Gautama, or about 500 B.C."—Encycl. Brit. vol. v. p. 636. B.C. 540 is perhaps the best of all dates. Buchanan concludes his lengthy note with the sensible remark that "in all such differences of opinion, the safest to follow is the latest date, as most likely to approach the truth."

We shall not enter into the doctrine of transmigration of souls, common to many other nations, except by observing the notion that the great benefactors of the human race at different eras of the world were only different bodies animated by one soul. This doctrine, which has been much abused by some Biblical critics of modern times, gives rise to all sorts of curious identifications, and leads to the favourite mistake, in ancient history, of attributing the actions of one hero to another, or rather, of collecting together a peculiar assemblage of deeds and wonders, without which no man can arrive at the dignity of a hero.

The Avatâras, or descents of Vishnu, belong to this theory of metempsychosis. Every hero of Hindoo worship is Vishnu, Brahma, or Siva in a new character, but it is to the first of these that we shall confine our present notice. Mr. Maurice well observes:—

"Those incarnations represent the deity descending in a human shape—either to accomplish certain awful and important events; to confound blaspheming vice, to subvert gigantic tyranny, and to avenge oppressed innocence; or, finally, to establish a glorious system of benevolent institutions upon the ruins of a gloomy and sanguinary superstition. These surely are noble actions; and it is principally to these different descents of Vishnu that most of the allegorical sculpture and paintings of India have reference."[1]

There can, however, be little doubt that Buddha was either a king or a statesman, who sought to do away with the traditions of the Vêdas, to abolish sacrifices, and to inculcate a purer and more humane system of theology, doubtless accompanied with many corresponding political changes. The following are two versions of the story, both of which prove that he was a successful heretic, who, despite the opposition and prejudice of the Brahminical school, succeeded in establishing, at least for a long period, a reformed system of reli-

[1] Indian Antiquities.

gion,[1] although the old one was never completely suppressed.

In the Bhagawat,[2] a treatise held in high esteem by the Hindoos, it is stated that, "at the commencement of the Kali Yug, Vishnu became incarnate[3] in Kikata, under the name of Buddha, the son of Jina, for the purpose of deluding the enemies of the gods;" that "the undiscernible Being having assumed a mortal form, preached heretical doctrines in the three cities founded by Maya, for the purpose of destroying, by deluding, the enemies of the gods, stedfast in the religion prescribed by the Védas;" that praise is due to "the pure Buddha, the deluder of the Daityas and Danawas;" and that, "by his words, as Buddha, Vishnu deludes the heretics."

According to the Puranas, Diosdasa, a king of the race of the Sun, finding Kashi unoccupied, took possession of the place, and there established the religion of Vishnu on so firm a foundation, thereby rendering his subjects so virtuous and happy, that the gods, like the deities of Greece in other ages, are said to have become jealous of the virtue and prosperity of mankind, and fearing lest they should lose their supremacy, they applied to Vishnu and Siva to relieve them from their anxiety. These two incarnate representatives of the Supreme Being, however, felt unwilling to dethrone so just a prince; but

[1] The leading features of Buddhism have been described as,—1. "Rejection of the Védas as books of Divine authority. 2. Worship of deified saints, and other subordinate gods. 3. The belief that the soul will ascend through a long purgatory of transmigrations to the state of a beatified saint, approximated to the Deity while on earth, by complete abstraction from all earthly sensations, and absorbed into the universal mind as soon as separated from the body."—(Encycl. Metrop. xvi. p. 58.) A fuller account, from the pen of my friend Mackenzie, will appear in the next article on Peking.

[2] I am indebted to an able article in the Encycl. Brit. vol. v. p. 636, sq.

[3] In the Kashi Khand, and some other legends, it is described rather as a manifestation than an incarnation.

Diosdasa having obtained as a boon from Brahma, that none of the deities should remain in his kingdom, Siva grew enraged at being excluded from his favourite residence, and consented to fulfil the malignant wishes of the deities. But, as long as the king and his subjects remained in the religion to which they had clung with so great earnestness, they were secure from injury, even at the hands of the aggrieved deities. Error and heresy were the only means whereby the end could be achieved; and with this view Devi, the twelve suns, and Ganesha, were employed. Their efforts failing, Vishnu, in the form of Buddha, perverted their minds, and led them to apostacy.

Great as was the convulsion effected in the religious feelings of so large a district, it is certain that the learned students of the old religion "did not remain silent spectators of what they deemed the triumph of atheism;"[1] and although the "Brahmins recognise Buddha as an object of worship and reverence, it is only as a manifestation of Vishnu, one of the emanations of Brahm, or the Supreme Being, and not as a false teacher or impostor, whose object was to deceive and delude, that he is acknowledged by the sacred caste of the Hindus."[2]

Sir William Jones has well observed that the term "atheists" could only have been applied to the Buddhists as a cant term of invective. "Buddha," he neatly remarks, "was a reformer; and every reformer must expect to be calumniated."[3] But the opponents of Buddhism did not rest contented with merely verbal opposition: the deadly sin of religious persecution raged against the Buddhists, at the beginning of the sixth century of our era, with the same morbid fanaticism that distinguished the Papal murders of a later date, and Brahminism became again

[1] Ward, quoted in Hindoos, i. p. 170.
[2] Asiatic Researches, viii.
[3] Asiatic Researches, i. p. 142.

ascendant. Thus are the noble temples, which chiefly owed their origin to the spirit of aroused reform, desolate and deserted. No throng of worshippers bends before the three-headed image in the temple of Elephanta; no prayers echo beneath the vaulted roof of Salsette; and in Ellora, all is hushed in the silence of death.

PEKING.[1]

THE frequenter of curiosity shops, who has amused himself among the whimsical monsters, fantastical furniture, and grotesque yet ingenious toys, which, in defiance of rules of a purer and more natural style of art, claim admiration for the elaborateness of their workmanship, and the patience they attest in their execution, will readily find a reason for the introduction of China, after the mention of works of Indian art. Considerable similarity in manners and customs —equal mystery as to early origin and history, and an equal prevalence of Buddhism—will furnish ample apology for the introduction of Peking, the largest city of China, to our readers. In a notice of the "Great Cities of the Ancient World," the city of Peking, the metropolis of a third of the human race,[2] can ill be omitted. This enormous town is situated on a vast plain in the interior of the district of Chih-li, the northernmost province of China Proper. The eastern and southern boundaries of the sandy plain are not visible from the town, but on the west and north hills begin to rise only a few miles from the walls of the city. Peking is situated fifty miles from the great wall, at its nearest point, and it is one hundred miles

[1] The whole of this chapter on Peking, and on the life and character of Confucius, together with the notice of Chinese Buddhism, is from the pen of my friend, Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, Esq.

[2] It may seem a broad assertion to call the Chinese a third of the population of the world, but the following table, extracted from Martin's excellent work on China, will prove that the assertion is not so extravagant:—

from the gulf of Chih-li. It is about six miles in diameter, and eighteen miles in circumference. The following account from the pen of one of the early Jesuits,[1] will doubtless prove interesting:—

"Pekin, that is the north court, is the chief city of China, and the usual seat of its emperors. It is so named to distinguish it from Nankin, the south court, another very considerable city, so called from the emperors residing there in former ages, it being the finest, the most commodious, and best situated of the whole empire; but the continual incursions of the Tartars, a warlike and very troublesome neighbour, obliged him to settle in the most northerly provinces, that he might be always ready to oppose them, with the numerous army he usually keeps near his court . . . This city, which is of an exact square form, was formerly four long leagues round, but Tartars settling there forced the Chinese to live without the walls, where they, in a very short while, built a new town, which, being more long than large, does with the old one compose an irregular figure. Thus Pekin is made up of two cities; one is called the Tartar's, because they permit none else to inhabit it; and the other the Chinese, as large, but much more full than the first.

Dynasty.	Emperors.	Year of Reign	A.D.	Population.
Ming	Tae-tsoo	27	1393	60,545,811
Tsing	Shun-che	18	1662	21,068,600
„	Kang-he	6	1668	25,386,209
„	„	49	1710	23,312,200
„	„	50	1711	28,605,716
„	Keen-lung	18	1753	102,328,258
„	„	57	1792	307,467,200
„	Kea-king	16	1812	361,221,900

The whole population of the globe is 900,000,000.—Martin's China, v. i. p. 29.

[1] Memoirs and Observations on China. By *Louis Le Compte*, Jesuit, London. Printed for *Benj. Tooke* and *Sam. Buckley*, 1697, p. 55. I quote the more willingly from this quaint work as it is now rare.

Both are together six great leagues in circuit, allowing 3600 paces to each league. This I can aver to be true, it having been measured by the emperor's special command."

The houses in Peking are few of more than one story, and the testimony of all authorities point to a denseness of inhabitation, equalled by no other town in the world. Ten or even twenty persons will live in one small room, without attracting unenviable notice.

Martin, in describing the city observes:[1]—"The northern division of Peking, consists of three enclosures, one within another, each surrounded by its own wall. The first contains the imperial palace, and the abodes of the different members of the imperial household; the second, was designed for the residence of the officers of the court, but is now occupied by Chinese merchants; the third, consists of the space enclosed by the outer walls, and was formerly inhabited by Tartar soldiers, but is now in the possession of Chinese shopkeepers and traders. The first enclosure (*forbidden city*) is the most splendid and important part of Peking. It is situated nearly in the centre of the northern division of the city. It is an oblong parallelogram, about two miles in circumference, and enclosed by a wall nearly thirty feet high. This wall is built of polished red brick, surrounded by a ditch lined with hewn stone, and covered with varnished tiles of a brilliant yellow, which give it the appearance, when seen under the rays of the sun, of being covered with a roof of gold. The interior of this enclosure, is occupied by a suite of court-yards and apartments, which, it is said, for beauty and splendour cannot be surpassed. It is divided into three parts, the eastern, middle, and western. The middle division contains the imperial buildings, which are subdivided into several distinct palaces. They are represented by the Jesuits as perfect models of architecture.

"The gates and halls are thus described:—1. The

[1] Vol. i. pp. 14—15.

meridian gate. Before this gate, on the east, is a lunar dial, and on the west, a solar, and in the tower above it, a large bell and gong. All public officers enter and leave the palace by the eastern avenue; none but the princes of the imperial blood are permitted to pass the western, and none but the emperor the southern avenue. At this gate are distributed the presents to embassies; and all war captives are here received by his majesty in person. 2. The Gate of Peace has five avenues, and is a superb building of white marble. The height of the basement is twenty feet, and the whole edifice 110 feet. The ascent to it is by five flights of forty steps each, and it is highly ornamented with tripods, and other figures in bronze. Here, on all the holidays, and on the anniversary of the emperor's birthday, he receives the congratulations of his officers, who prostrate themselves to the earth before him, and strike the ground with their foreheads. 3. The Hall of Perfect Peace; here the emperor comes to examine the implements prepared for the annual ceremony of ploughing. 4. The Hall of Secure Peace; in this the emperor gives a banquet to his foreign guests on new year's day. 5. The Tranquil Palace of Heaven, *i. e.* of the emperor. This is a private retreat to which no one can approach without special permission. This palace is described by the Russians, who have had many opportunities of seeing it, as 'the loftiest, richest, and most magnificent of all the palaces.' On each side of the tower is a large copper vessel, in which incense is burnt day and night. 6. The Palace of Earth's Repose, *i. e.* of the empress, which is said to be very beautiful; adjoining this is the imperial flower-garden, which is laid out in walks for her majesty, who being a Tartar, has not adopted the Chinese custom of crippling her feet, and, therefore, is said to enjoy herself in what is called, 'Earth's Repose.' In this garden is a library, said to contain a collection of all the books published in China."

Of the bustle and confusion of the streets of Peking,

some idea may be formed from the words of a writer, trust-worthy enough, I have found, to be quoted without restraint: [1]—

"Even the widest streets are not free from confusion; and at the sight of so many horses, mules, camels, wagons, chairs, and rings of 100 or 200 persons who gather here and there round the fortune-tellers, one would judge that some unusual show had drawn the whole country to Pekin. * * * [After mentioning the practice of all persons of any property going out with many attendants, he continues]:—It is evident that these customs, which are peculiar to China, do very much increase the throng, and it must not be wondered at that the city should seem much more populous than it really is: and what must convince us is, that, as I have shown, there may more people lodge in Paris than in Pekin. Then, taking it for granted that twenty or twenty-five persons there take up no more room than ten here, as I have already said, we must conclude, on the whole, that Pekin contains near twice as many as Paris does; and I think I shall not be very wide of the truth if I allow it two millions of inhabitants."

If the reader will refer to the statistical table, given in a former note to the nearest date given in the population returns (1668), he will perceive the total in China to have been then 25,386,209 inhabitants; taking the annual births in the empire to be 30,000 (which cannot be far from the truth), and allowing a third of these to die, we have a decrease of some 40,000, and 630,000 for adult deaths, leaves us rather more than 24,000,000 as the total population in 1697; and on comparison 2,000,000 for the capital will not appear too much. The present population is about 3,000,000.

"Almost all the streets are built in a direct line, the greatest being about 120 feet broad, and a good league, and the shops where they sell silks and china-

[1] Le Compte, p. 56, sqq.

ware, which generally take up the whole street, makes a very agreeable perspective. * * * Each shopkeeper puts out before his house, on a little kind of pedestal, a board twenty or two-and-twenty feet high, painted, varnished, and often gilt, on which are written, in large characters, the names of the several commodities he sells. These kind of pilasters, thus placed on each side of the street, and almost at an equal distance from each other, make a pretty odd show. This is usual in almost all the cities of China, and I have in some places seen so very neat ones, that one would think they had designed to make a stage of the street." [1]

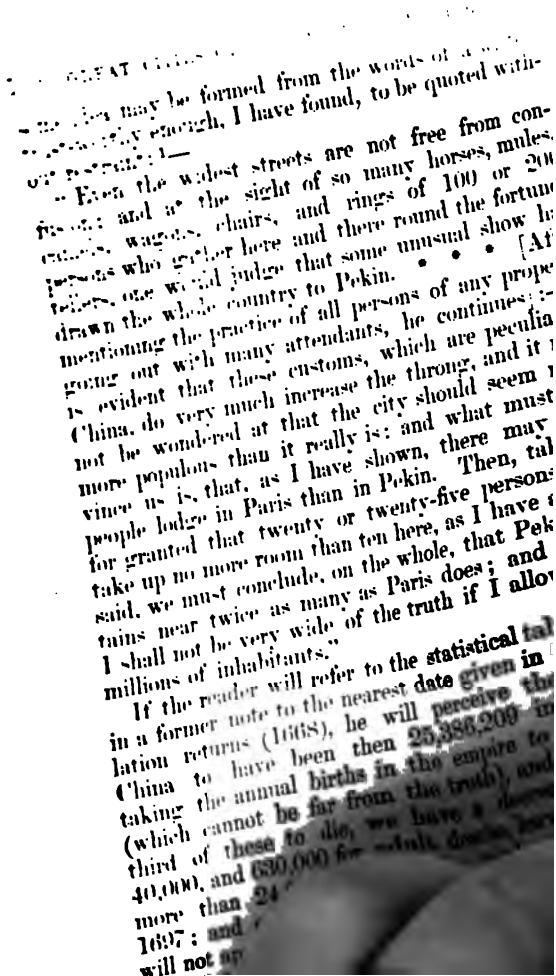
The accounts of travellers concur in describing the streets of Peking as very animated, but as full of dirt and dust as any city, equally as badly cleansed, nearer home.

As Peking started into its present regular modern array at least seven hundred years before the Christian era, little can be said on the subject of its antiquities, for since all is so ancient, nothing can be particularly mentioned as of parallel antiquity to what we have seen in Egypt, Nineveh, Syria, Persepolis, and India; for, although the institutions of to-day have existed in the country for 2,500 years, to describe them would be to describe what is taking place every day. There has been no race destroyed here as in Nineveh, and there has been little left by the earlier denizens of the country to signify their presence; the Great Wall, indeed, conveys to our minds an impression of plaster still wet, and is almost the oldest piece of architecture they possess; as it has been often described, we shall not include it in the present sketch.

One curiosity there does exist in China of unquestionable comparative antiquity and great interest in respect to the preaching of Christianity, which Martin,

[1] Le Compte, p. 50.





a most excellent authority on China, thus describes, speaking of embassies:[1]—

"A.D. 635. The Chinese annals state, that during the reign of Tait-sung, the second emperor of the *Tang* dynasty, there came ambassadors from foreign nations. There arrived at the capital of China, *Singan-foo*, a man of exalted virtue, named Olapun. The Emperor graciously received this stranger, examined the nature of the new religion (Scriptures), found that Olapun was thoroughly acquainted with truth and uprightness, and gave him a special command to make it known. The following year this decree was issued:—

"'Truth hath not an unchanging name, nor are holy men confined to one immutable form. In every place true doctrine has been disseminated; and with reiterated instructions, the crowd of the living have been blessed. From the distant region of *Ta-tsin* (Arabia, probably), [Ta-tsin, 'great purity'] the greatly virtuous Olapun has brought scriptures and pictures, to offer them to our high court. If the intent of this doctrine be examined, it is seen to be profound, excellent, and pure. If its noble origin be considered, it offers that which is important. Its phraseology is without superfluous words. It contains truth, rejecting that which is needless. It is beneficial according to every view, and profitable to the people; and should, therefore, pervade the empire. Let the officers erect a temple for the religion of Ta-tsin in the capital, and appoint twenty-one ministers for its administration.

"The discovery of a Syrian monument, commemorating the progress of Christianity in China, which was erected A.D. 718, is a remarkable circumstance

[1] China, i. pp. 247-248. Such persons who wish to know more about these embassies must refer to Martin, and my learned readers to an article in the *Classical Journal*, iii. p. 295, on the China of the Classics. The version in the text of edict is Martin's, but it has been found necessary to revise it.

in corroboration of the foregoing statement. This monument was discovered by some Chinese workmen, A.D. 1625, near the city of Sangan, the capital of the province of Shen-se, which was at a remote period the capital of the empire. This city is situated on the river Wei, in latitude 34° 16′ N. The monument is described as a slab of marble, about ten feet long and five feet broad; it was covered with earth, but instantly shewn to the authorities; and at this period there were numerous Christian missionaries in China, who had an opportunity of examining it, together with natives and pagans. On one side of it is the Chinese inscription, in twenty-eight lines, twenty-six characters in each line, besides a heading, in nine characters; the Syrian is on the right side, comprised in seventeen characters. The nine Chinese characters, at the top of this monument, read thus: 'A Tablet, recording the introduction of the religion of the Ta-tsin country in China.' It commences with[1] stating the existence of the living and true God; the creation of the world; the fall of man; and the mission of Jesus Christ. The miraculous birth and excellent teaching of the Saviour are briefly described. His ascension is spoken of; the institution of baptism mentioned; and the cross declared to be effectual for the salvation of all mankind. The latter part of the inscription states, that in the reign of *Tang-tae-Tsung*, A.D. 636, a Christian teacher came from Ta-tsin to China; where the emperor, after examining his doctrines, published an edict, authorizing the preaching of Christianity among the people."

Such is the description of this important relic of early Christianity; and in the inscription the Christian

[1] The inscription has been translated into Latin by Kircher, who published the original in Roman characters in his *China Illustrata*, at Amsterdam. Dalquie has given it in French, and Dr. Bridgeman has translated it into English, and it is given by Martin, ii. p. 455, sqq. See likewise the Chinese Repository for May 1845.

faith is called the "illustrious religion." The mention of this interesting discovery naturally leads us to consider the doctrines of the three principal faiths, ethical and religious, of China.

"Religion[1] has always had a great share in establishing the greatest kingdoms, which could never support themselves, were not the people's minds and hearts tied together by the outward worship of some deity; for people are naturally superstitious, and rather follow the guidance of faith than reason. It was, therefore, for this reason, that the ancient lawgivers always made use of the knowledge of the true God, or of the false maxims of idolatry, to bring the barbarous nations under the yoke of their government."

So says the worthy Jesuit, in a letter to Cardinal de Bouillon, and we may conclude that his observations are correct, as they savour of the tenets of his order. After stating that Monotheism had lasted for many centuries in China, he continues:[2]—

"The knowledge of the true God, which lasted many ages after the reign of Cam Vam,[3] and, in all probability, a long while after the time of Confucius, was not always supported in the same purity. Their minds were possessed by idolatry, and their manners became so corrupt, that the true Faith being but the occasion of greater ill, was by little and little taken away from them by the just judgment of God. Among all the superstitions, which followed here upon, there were two sorts which were principally established, and do between them, at this present moment, comprehend almost all the empire."

In the reign of Ting-Wang (604 B.C.) the founder of the Taou philosophy, Laou-Tsze was born, and the manner of his birth so much resembles that of Diony-

[1] Le Compte, p. 320.
[2] Page 321.
[3] It were needless to say that modern researches have overthrown the chronology and orthography of Le Compte, which I therefore do not rest upon.

sos (Bacchus) as to justify the supposition of their identity. M. Rèmusat's remarks on his history, shew clearly that the major part of the biography of Laou-Tsze is mythical or mystical, and he compares him with Pythagoras (540 B.C.); but a new light could be thrown upon the whole subject, did space admit of it.

Le Compte continues:—"This monster, to the sorrow of his country, survived his mother, and by his pernicious doctrine in a short time grew famous; nevertheless, he wrote several useful books, of virtue, of the good of avoiding honour, of the contempt of riches, of that incomparable retiredness of mind, which separates us from the world, the better to know ourselves. He often repeated the following sentence, which he said was the foundation of true wisdom: *Eternal reason produced one; one produced two; two produced three; and three produced all things:* which seems to show as if he had some knowledge of the Trinity."

That the doctrines of the Taou sect originally sprang from some mutilated and mystified versions of the doctrine of the Trinity, there is high doubt, but not whether the leading notion (if it be not derived from a common source with the Hellenic and all other legendary lore), was obtained from the prophetical books of the Old Testament, for I have elsewhere stated,[1] that there are many Hebrew MSS. in China, and now further say that they have been there for many centuries, and even, as will be seen hereafter, for some hundreds of years before the Christian era. I translate from the Chinese, a passage relative to the doctrine of Taou.[2]

[1] Notes and Queries, vol. iv. p. 282.

[2] With the specimen of Taou mysticism, it may be interesting to compare two passages in Martin, i. pp. 57-58, the first from Confucius (She-king, Verse-Book), the second from an ancient author, Hwae-nan-tsze, descriptive of the creation:—

"Before heaven and earth," says Confucius, "were divided, there existed one universal chaos; when the two energies of nature were gradually distinguished, and the *yin* and the *yang*, *i. e.* the male and female principles, established. Then the purer influence established, and became the expansive heavens; while the grosser particles descended, and constituted the sub-

"The Chinese sect Taou affirm: 'Taou brought forth one; one brought forth two; two brought forth three; and three brought forth all things.' If you ask them what the nature of Taou (the original principle) is, they reply: 'Taou is extreme stillness, or a condition of perfect rest.' In speaking of the outward forms of the three, they characterize their nature as 'the heaven's adorning principle, earth's vivifying principle, and the pure principle of the exciting harmonizing wind;' or as it is defined by them, 'That aërial cause, or principle, by means of which the heavens and the earth act upon each other.' They call the internal Trinity, 'The clear unmingled influence; the spiritual intelligence; the purity of essence; in the midst of rest the *yin* and *yang* principles separated.[1] Essence, intelligence, and influence, together worked in a state of vacuum.'"

Such is the clear and intelligible strain of the Taou philosophy, which might have been an intelligible philosophy at the time, but is considered obscure at present,

jacent earth. From the combination of these two, all things were produced; and thus heaven is the father, and earth the mother, of nature."

Hwae-nan-tsze expresses himself thus:—"Heaven was formless, a chaos; and the whole mass nothing but confusion. Order was produced in the pure ether; out of the pure ether the universe came forth; the universe produced the air. When the pure male principle *yang* had been diluted, it formed the heavens. The heavy parts coagulated and formed the earth. The refined particles united very soon, but the thick and heavy went on slowly; therefore the heavens came into existence first, and the earth afterwards. From the subtle essence of heaven and earth, the dual principles, *yang* and *yin*, were formed; the joint operation of *yang* and *yin* produced the four seasons, putting forth their generative power, gave birth to all the products of the earth. The warm air of *yang* produced fire, and the finest parts of fire formed the sun. The cold air of the *yin*, being condensed, produced water; and the finest part of the watery substance formed the moon."—Cf. with both of these the Timæus of Plato, §§ 10-13, and Ovid Metam. i. l. 5-31.

[1] The Yin and Yang are the male and female principles in Chinese philosophy.

from the tampering of time and unphilosophical commentators. To return to the account of the Jesuit:[1]—

"But he taught that God was corporeal, and that he governed other deities, as a king governs his subjects. He applied himself mightily to chymistry, of which some pretend he was the inventor. He beat his brains, likewise, about the philosopher's stone; and did, at length, fancy, that by a certain sort of drink one might be immortal.[2] To obtain which, his followers practise magic, which diabolical art, in a short time, was the only thing studied by the gentry. Everybody studied it in hopes to avoid death; and the women, through natural curiosity, as well as a desire to prolong their life, applied themselves to it, wherein they exercise all sorts of extravagances, and give themselves up to all sorts of impieties.

"Those who have made this their professed business, are called Tien-se, that is, heavenly doctors; they have houses given them to live together in society; they erect, in divers parts, temples to Laokun their master; king and people honour him with divine worship; and, although they have examples enough to have undeceived them from these errors, yet they vehemently pursue immortality by his precepts, who could never gain it himself."

"An interview," says Martin,[3] "is said to have taken place between Laou-Tsze and Confucius, in the year 517 B.C. The former was eighty-seven years old, and the latter thirty-five. Laou-tsze reproached Confucius with vanity and worldly-mindedness, as exhibited by the pompous style in which he travelled, and the number of his followers. 'The wise man,' said he, 'loves obscurity; so far from courting employments, he shuns them: he studies the times; if they be favourable, he speaks; if corrupt, he yields to the storm. He who is truly virtuous, makes no

[1] Page 322.
[2] The elixir of life of the western world.
[3] China, i. p. 205.

parade of his virtue; he does not proclaim to all the world that he is a sage. This is all I have to say to you: make the best of it you can.' Confucius said of Laou-tsze, that 'he knew the habits of birds, beasts, and fishes, and how to take them; but as to the dragon, he could not understand how it could raise itself in the heavens. He had seen Laou-tsze, who resembled the dragon.'"[1]

The death of Laou-tsze took place in 522 B.C. The portraits of the impostor would make him a European.

The most important event in Chinese literary and ethical history is the birth of Kung-foo-tsze (Confucius), both in its effects on the moral organization of this great empire, and on the study of Chinese philosophy in Europe.

I will, before making any remarks upon Confucius himself, or his establishment of a moral code in his country, present the reader with a sketch of his life, and then proceed to a consideration of the more important of his doctrines.[2]

Confucius, or Kung-foo-tsze (such is the correct Chinese spelling, meaning "the sage Kung" or "the wise excellence"), was of royal descent; and his family the most ancient in the empire, as his genealogy was traceable directly up to Hwang-te, the reputed organizer of the state, and first emperor of the semi-historical period (beginning 2698 B.C.). The father of Confucius was Shih-Leang-Ho, with the family style of Kung. His son, Confucius, was the child of a second marriage with a woman named Len-she; who being of a pious

[1] The Chinese consider the dragon as a type of the celestial genii. This is not the place for discussions of such a nature, or it could be shewn that Kung-foo-tsze (Confucius) did nothing more than read the works of Laou, and that such was the impression on his mind.

[2] In this sketch I cannot claim any originality of research as far as facts go, as I merely act the part of *Democritus Junior*, who said on a similar occasion, "I light my candle at the torch of another;" so I at that of Thornton, in his History of China, vol. i. pp. 151-215.

turn of mind, went to Ne-Kew, and prayed to the All-perceiving Divinities, and in ten months had a son in the city of Tsow-yih (now called Keu-foo-hëen), in Shantung province, who received the name of Kew, and style of Chung-ne. This took place in the twenty-second year of Seang-Kung, king of Loo, the twenty-first year of Emperor Ling-wang, the 13th day of the eleventh month, in the forty-seventh year of the cycle, answering to the autumn of 531 B.C. At his birth,—

> The frame and huge foundation of the earth
> Shak'd like a coward; * * *
> " The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes;
> The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
> Were strangely clamorous to the frighted fields."[1]

A prodigious quadruped called the *Ke-lin*,[2] appeared and prophesied that the new-born infant "would be a king without throne or territory." Divers indications of scrofula and distortion were turned into miraculous indications of future eminence, and every fault was a distinctive and unusual virtue. Two dragons hovered about the couch of Yen-she, and five celestial sages, or angels, entered at the moment of the birth of the wondrous child; heavenly strains were heard in the air, and harmonies and chords followed each other, fast and full.

Thus was Confucius ushered into the world, in which, for China, and, I doubt not, eventually for the western world, he was destined to work out many favourable and important changes. On the similarity between his birth, and that of our Saviour, I need not dwell.

His father died before he was three years old, and he was left unprovided for; but his mother, who seems to have had independent property, educated him with great care and attention. His reverence for age, even in his earliest years, seems to have been unbounded. At

[1] Henry IV. part 1, act iii. scene 1.

[2] My friend Buckley suggests, with much probability, that the *Ke-Lin* (which means merely "male-female") may be the lion.

seven years old he went to school, and his learning and talents seem to have raised him in the opinion of every one. At the early age of seventeen he obtained the post of subordinate surveyor of agricultural produce; the duties of which office, contrary to the general practice, he performed himself, without the aid of a deputy.

In his nineteenth year, he married Ke-Kwan-she; and at the birth of his son Pih-yu, he seems to have been of consequence enough to attract, as Abraham did on a similar occasion, the attention of the monarch of Loo, who sent him a present of a carp.

In his twenty-first year, he rose to the considerable office of surveyor of agricultural live stock, retaining, probably, his former office. In this post, as in the former, he gave general satisfaction, and introduced much reform; so that, under his administration, the country became twice as prosperous as before his appointment.

He retired from public life at the age of twenty-three, on account of the death of his mother, to conform to the three years mourning customary in China; and his mother's obsequies appear to have been carried out in the most splendid and respectful manner; for it was one of the social reforms brought about by him, to treat the earthly frame of man, breathless and quiescent, with more reverence and affection than before. His example soon became general; and thus one important object of his mission was carried out.

The three years of mourning and seclusion he passed in intense study, and in following up the "six arts," viz., music, ceremonies, arithmetic, writing, the use of weapons, and the art of chariot-driving. At this period he imbibed a taste for philosophy, and refused to return to public political life. From this time he appears in the character of a travelling politician, reforming, on philosophical principles, the abuses of any or every land, and giving advice and instruction to all. Indeed his house appears to have been turned into a kind of

Academus, where the discussion of all subjects in ethics, literature, politics, and natural science, was carried on. Every person, young or old, rich or poor, was admitted, excepting such persons as bore a bad character. On being questioned as to his doctrine, he would reply, "My doctrine is that which it concerns all men to embrace: it is that of Yaou and Shun. As to my mode of instruction, it is quite simple; I cite the conduct of the ancients, by way of example; I prescribe the study of the King (Books), and reflections upon the maxims they contain." Indeed, the object of the philosopher was rather to root out the abuses which had crept into the usages of the country than to introduce new matter for speculation, of which he never seems to have been very fond.

On his return to the kingdom of Loo (in B.C. 511), he applied himself to the revision of the ancient classic books. He reduced the She-king (Ode-book) from 3000 poems to 311; he edited the Shoo-king (Four books), and reduced the number of chapters from 100 to 50. He executed many other works of the like nature; but these, and the revision of the very ancient Yih-king (a book containing an account of the mysteries of the creation and of early religious feelings), form the whole of the works which have come down to our times; for his treatise on music (Yo-king) is lost.

"They contain," says Prèmare,[1] "the whole of the Chinese religion. In the fundamental doctrines of them may be found the principles of natural law, which the ancient Chinese received from the sons of Noah. They teach the reader to know and reverence the Supreme Being. Like the Patriarchs, under the unwritten law, the emperor is both king and pontiff. To him it belongs to offer, at certain times of the year, sacrifice for his people; to him it belongs to prescribe ceremonies, to decide on doctrines. This alone can be called

[1] *Lettres Edif. et Cur.* t. xxi. p. 218, ed. 1781.

the established religion of China; all other sects are considered by them to be extraneous, false, and pernicious, and are only tolerated. The Christian religion was declared lawful[1] by a public edict: in a subsequent reign it was proscribed." A few extracts from the Ta-hio (Important Doctrine) will show the bearing of Confucian philosophy better than the completest exposition of it:[2]—

"The path or course of learning proper for men," says the Ta-hio, "consists in restoring reason to its pristine lustre; in renovating others; and in making the summit of all virtue the only point of rest. When the mind knows its point of rest, it is decided; once fixed, it can enjoy tranquillity; and thus at ease view all things around with complete self-possession, thence maturely weigh their nature and value, and finally attain perfection in virtue. Things in the vegetable world have a root, as well as branches and fruit; actions too have a consummation, and also a source whence they spring. He, then, who has formed a just idea of cause and effect, has made a near approximation to the path which leads to the summit of virtue. . . . From the Son of Heaven even to the common people, one rule applies, that self-government is the root of all virtue. . . . 'Excite the people to self-renovation.' The Shee says—

'Though Tchyeu ruled a country inveterate in evil habits,
By the will of heaven, he renovated its laws and manners.'

"There is then no degree of virtue beyond the aim of the superior man. . . . The Shee says—

'See on yon bank of the meandering Khee,
The waving reeds how beautifully luxuriant!
Such the virtues of the Superior Man.
As they carve and file ivory,
As they cut and polish the precious gem,—

[1] Prèmare alludes to the edict consequent on the attempt to promulgate the Christian religion; see p. 162.

[2] The translation is Marshman's at the end of his Clavis Sinica, 1814.

How exquisite! how severe!
How resplendent! how illustrious!
The virtues which adorn the Superior Man,
Can never become a prey to oblivion.'

. . . As riches adorn a palace, so virtue adorns the man; when the mind is expanded by virtue and knowledge, the body itself feels in a state of freedom and enjoyment. Hence the superior man will labour to rectify his thoughts and desires. . . . When the mind, engrossed by some passion, is not duly attentive, a man may look without perceiving, may listen without hearing, and may receive food without discerning its taste. This sufficiently tells us that self-government depends on a due command over the passions. . . . The good government of a country, therefore, must originate in a man's cultivating virtue in his own house. The Shee says—

'The peach tree, how pleasant!
Its leaves how blooming and luxuriant!
Such is a bride when she enters the house of her spouse,
And duly regulates his family.'

. . . That which you dislike in your superiors, do not exercise towards your inferiors; that which you hate in your inferiors, do not practise towards your superiors; that which is disgusting in those before you, do not set before those behind you; what is unpleasant in those behind you, do not shew to those before you; what is base in those on your right hand, do not manifest in your intercourse with those on your left; what is evil in those on your left, do not propose to those on your right hand: it is this which is meant by that line of conduct which squares perfectly with equity and virtue. . . . When the sovereign himself reveres virtue, it is impossible that his subjects should forget the respect due to him. When the people duly regard the rights of the sovereign, it is impossible that the revenues should not be easily collected; and equally impossible, that a revenue thus collected without ex-

tortion, should not be deemed sacred to the sovereign's use."

Such are the extracts which I have thought best to lay before the reader, and from these passages the general tenor of the Confucian philosophy can fairly be inferred.

It was dogmatic rather than disputative (somewhat resembling the Aristotelian method of *sorites*), and I scarcely think the title hastily given by Sir William Jones[1] to Confucius—the Socrates of China—holds good in the nature of their several philosophies. Tsuy-tsze may certainly be considered the Xenophon, and Măng-tsze (Mencius) the Plato of China.

Confucius continued for a long time the philosopher of Loo, and afterwards quitted that country to see what progress his doctrines had made elsewhere. Coming to Tse, he was created one of the ministers of that province, and might have remained so, but that the prime minister succeeded in supplanting him. He then returned to his native country, where he was appointed chief justice of the criminal court, an office which he held till B.C. 496, when the successor of Ting-king, king of Loo, revoked his commission, and he again left his country, but was speedily recalled by Gae-kung, whose favourite he became. But court intrigues again estranged him from his native land; and after wandering for many years through other states, he settled in Wei; but he was afterwards permitted to return. About his sixty-sixth year he came to Loo, leaving his wife dead in Wei, and his family scattered, after an absence of fourteen years. Here he remained, and though not employed by the king, was much respected and beloved by him. In his seventy-first year he prepared to quit the world, and broke up his school, admitting his former disciples as friends, but not as scholars.

Soon after this he felt himself breaking, and in-

[1] Asiatic Researches, ii. p. 202.

disposition was growing on him, and though he recovered, still his formerly robust constitution was severely shattered.

"He was constantly," says Thornton,[1] "visited by his disciples, particularly by Tsze-kung. One day Confucius met him at the door, supporting himself on a staff, and when he had entered, the philosopher gave evident tokens of decay. He shed tears, and complained that his strength was failing and his eyes were dim, expressing himself in a rhyming triplet:—

> The great mountain is broken,
> The strong beams are thrown down,
> The sage is a dying plant.

"He added, 'The Princes of the Shang dynasty are interred between two pillars, where I offered a sacrifice to my ancestors. This dream convinces me that I have not long to live; but this is not the source of my affliction: it is because I see that every monarch has degenerated from the virtues of his forefathers, and that all reject my doctrines.' Tsze-kung consoled the sorrowing sage by telling him, that he had disciples who would tread in his path, and complete what he had so well begun. He revived a little; but this was but a spark which another incident extinguished.

"Whilst hunting on the western frontier the king met with an extraordinary quadruped, which was killed by his suite, and which proved to be a lin. Confucius saw the beast, and pronounced it to be the symbol of charity and sound doctrine. The destruction of an animal which had announced his birth, was considered by him as an omen of his death. He prepared for this event, and read over his writings once more, making a few corrections in them; after which, he fell into a lethargy, which lasted seven days; and, at length, on the day Ke-chow, in the fourth moon of the sixteenth year of the reign of Gae-kung, king of Loo, the forty-

[1] Hist. of China, t. i. p. 203.

first year of King-wang, the fifty-ninth year of the thirty-sixth cycle (corresponding to B.C.[1] 479), he died at the age of seventy-three."

In what reverence his memory is held now every one knows, and how fully and delightfully the prediction of Tsze-kung came to pass. Temples of civil and ethical merit stand now to his memory in every part of the empire; but he is not, as some have supposed, worshipped as a god, his tablets being only revered for the memory of a great and good reformer. The number of these memorials is said to be 1560. Mr. Ellice says the inscription on the Confucian tablet is usually "Seat of the Soul of the most Renowned Teacher of Antiquity."

I cannot refrain from quoting Thornton once more on the subject of Confucius.

"He was, perhaps," says that gentleman,[2] very truly, "the only reformer and legislator in early times who did not betray the natural weakness of aspiring to supernatural distinction; for even Socrates had his familiar genius. His persevering efforts to lead men into the path of reason and of natural religion were the offspring of pure philanthropy, without the least taint of ambition or of selfishness. His moral doctrine discovers none of the ingenious subtleties and incomprehensible logomachies of the Hindu schools, and its severe simplicity forms a strong contrast with the ethical systems of ancient Greece. His maxims of conduct are of a practical not of a speculative character; applicable to the pursuits and to all conditions of life, being based upon human nature; herein differing essentially from the mysticism of Laou-tsze and the sect of 'the immortals.' By disclaiming the original discovery of the truths he taught, he obviated at once the imputation of egotism and the dread of innovation, and they could not be better enforced than by the rectitude and

[1] Dr. Morrison says the eighteenth day of the second moon is considered the anniversary of Confucius's death.—THORNTON.

[2] Vol. i. p. 208, sqq.

blamelessness of his own life. * * * The sagacity and discernment, evinced in many of his observations, denote a vigorous intellect, deep reflection, and extensive knowledge of the human character."

Nor do others detract from the greatness of the mind of Confucius.

"Confucius," says Davis,[1] "embodied in sententious maxims the first principles of morals and of government, and the purity and excellence of some of his precepts (whatever may have been said to the contrary by persons ignorant of the language) will bear a comparison with even those of the Gospel."

"Europeans," observes a Chinese Christian,[2] "who complain that Confucius has not spoken sufficiently of the Deity, and of the mode of worshipping him, should recollect that the *Yo-king* has been totally lost; that the *She-king* and *Yih-king* are full of praises of the Deity, and that although the *Shoo-king* is entirely historical, there is not a page of it in which events are not ascribed to the omnipotence, the justice, the providence, the wisdom, the goodness, or some other attribute of the Almighty."

In the previous article on the Rock-hewn cities of India, the rise and progress of Buddhism as an established religion in that country, has been detailed; it may, however, be apposite to relate how it obtained so powerful a hold upon the sympathies and feelings of the Chinese.

Of the Buddhists, Lecompte says:[3] —

"The second sect which is prevalent in China, and is more dangerous and more universally spread than the former, adore an idol which they call Fo or Foë as the only God of the world. This idol was brought from the Indies two and thirty years after the death of JESUS CHRIST. This poison began at Court,[4] but

[1] Memoirs concerning the Chinese, Trans. R. A. S. t. i. p. 5.
[2] *Mem. Conc. les Chinois*, t. i. p. 46.
[3] Page 323.
[4] How, it will be presently seen.

spread its infection through all the provinces, and corrupted every town: so that this great body of men, already spoiled by magic and impiety, was immediately infected with idolatry, and became a monstrous receptacle for all sorts of errors. Fables, superstitions, transmigration of souls,[1] idolatry, and atheism, divided them, and got so strong a mastery over them, that even at this present there is not so great impediment to the progress of Christianity as is this ridiculous and impious doctrine.

"Nobody can well tell where this idol *Fo*, of whom I speak, was born (I call him an idol and not a man, because some think it was an apparition from hell); those who, with more likelihood, say he was a man, make him born above a thousand years before JESUS CHRIST in a kingdom of the Indies near the line, perhaps a little above Bengala. They say he was a king's son. He was first called Che-Kia; but at 30 years of age he took the name of Fo. * * * The number of his disciples is very great, and it is by their means that all the Indies have been poisoned with his pernicious doctrine. Those of Siam call them *Talapoins*, the Tartars call them *Lamas* or *Lamasem*, the Japoners, *Bonzes*, and the Chinese, *Hocham*." [2]

Such is the brief account of this early writer; and using it as a summary, we will proceed to the details of the rise of Chinese Buddhism.

The first notion of the approaching religion was given by a prophecy uttered by Kung-foo-tze (Confucius) in the following remarkable words — spoken on the occasion of a question as to who was the *perfect being*. He said, "I have heard that in the Western countries there will be a holy man, who, without governing, will

[1] Pointing to a partial introduction of Brahmaism into China.

[2] M. Klaproth is of opinion that *Ho shay* (such is the orthography) is a corruption of the Persian خواجه *Kh'aja*, "a teacher;" and his notion is the more probable, as the Persian word *kh'an*, "a house," becomes in Chinese mouths *Han*, "a house."

prevent troubles; who, without speaking, will inspire faith; who, without violent changes, will produce good; no man can tell his name, but he will be the true saint." (*Ching Keaou-chun-tseuen. Notices des MSS. du Roi*, t. x. p. 407.) This prophecy (clearly referring to Christ), might have been uttered about 490 B.C., and he probably knew it from the books of the Old Testament brought by the Jews into China about 550 B.C., which led him to restore among his disciples a modification of the patriarchal system.

The reign of Che-Kwang-le (B.C. 217) was rendered memorable by the entrance of a Buddhist priest and eighteen companions, called by the native historians Shih-le-fang, into the town of Hëen-yang, with their Sanskrit rituals, but the emperor threw them into prison;[1] upon this, the missionary and his friends began to recite the *Maha prajna páramitá*, and a brilliant light filling the prison they were liberated by a genius. The emperor, terrified at this, paid them all honours, and sent them out of the country. In 122 B.C., the army brought from Hew-too, beyond the Yarkand mountains, an idol of gold, six feet high, to the emperor Woo-te. From this model the present statues are modelled. Under Gae-te (B.C. 2) a person of the name of Tsin-King, received some books on the subject from E-Tun-Kow, an envoy of the Yue-te.

These events, however, did not pass unremembered from the minds of the Chinese. For in A.D. 65, the emperor Ming-ti, of the Han dynasty, sent an embassy westwards to induce the "Holy One" to return, and take up his residence in China; and it is a matter of extreme probability that the time of his mission was determined by the calculations of the astronomers. The envoys proceeded to Ceylon, where, finding a religion comparatively modern, they brought it back with them. This religion was the belief in Buddha,

[1] See Rèmusat and Klaproth's edition of the *Fuh-kwo-ke*. The substance in the text is derived from Thornton's History of China, vol. i. p. 574-575.

which, promulgated first by imperial edict, has ever since been followed by the Chinese, but mostly by the uneducated portion of the people. The cause, it is said, of the embassy to the Land of the West, was a dream; and the constant *double-entendre* of the Chinese classic odes in the Woo-king (five books) and Shoo-king (verse book), caused the revelation to be highly esteemed, and the priests of Buddha (of whom the early Jesuit missionaries speak in terms of unmeasured contempt and contumely) were received with open arms, and continued approbation. Thus it is that Buddhism is an exotic, and in no way indigenous to China; it has extended itself widely, and has been so modified to suit the Chinese characters, that there is no doubt of its being the least degrading of the various systems of theology in use in that country.

The Chinese Buddhistic precepts are five:—1, Thou shalt not kill anything living, from the meanest insect even unto man; 2, Thou shalt not steal; 3, Thou shalt not commit adultery with the wife or concubine of any man; 4, Thou shalt not lie; 5, Thou shalt not debase the image of man by intoxication; drink therefore no wine or liquor of drunkenness. — The sins are ten:—1, killing that which has life; 2, theft; 3, adultery; 4, falsehood; 5, discord; 6, bad language; 7, idle talk; 8, covetousness; 9, envious malice; 10, apostasy. The vows are—1, We leave our families and friends; 2, we shave our heads to shew that we are weak; 3, we will reside together in temples in poverty. The personifications of Buddha are three:—the past, the present, the future; they are generally represented half-naked, with woolly heads, in a sitting posture. From the woolly texture of the hair, I am inclined to assign to the Buddha of India, the Fuhi of China, the Sommonacom of the Siamese, the Xaha of the Japanese, and the Quetzalcoatl of the Mexicans, the same, and indeed an African, or rather Nubian origin. The temples, like those of India, are adorned with images; an altar with candles and

incense forms a part of the furniture of the place, as well as a large iron chaldron for burning gilt paper in, a large gong, and a bell, which arouses the attention of the God to the prayers of a rich or important person, but it is only used for the distinguished, and no poor person is allowed to have the gong sounded. There are no Sabbaths; but the new and full moon are observed with much ceremony, they have daily services, and 100 fast-days in the year. The prayers are all in Sanskrit, understood by few of the priests, and ejaculations form part of the ritual; particularly good for the soul of the believer are considered several hundred thousand repetitions of the Chinese name of Buddha (O-me-to-Fuh). With the exception of the ritual, which is absurd in many points, the principles of Chinese Buddhism, as will be seen in the following treatise, are good; and among the many excellent works written by Chinese authors on the subject, I may mention one that I possess myself, formerly the property of Dr. Morrison, entitled Sew Sin Keue.—"Parting Words to Cultivate the Heart."—Printed at Canton in 1793, in the fifty-eighth year of the Emperor Këenlong.

I have already given a specimen of the philosophical ideas of the Chinese, at an early era, when speaking of the Taou sect. I will now give a version of an Ethical Tract, strongly resembling the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, the putative author of which is a man named Kwan (with the style Te Keun), and of which the date may probably be the third century of the Christian era.[1] This will serve as an illustration of the principles of Chinese Buddhism.

"KWAN, THE HOLY TE KEUN, AWAKES MANKIND BY THE FOLLOWING TRUE ORDINANCES:—

"Venerate Heaven and Earth, perform the rites to the all-

[1] The reader will find the text and a translation by the late Dr. Morrison, who may be considered the Saviour of Chinese literature, in his English and Chinese Dictionary, article Ethics, vol. vi. pp. 140-151. I have preferred, for several reasons, to revise his translation.

seeing divinities; Respect your ancient ancestors, render obedience to your parents;

"Observe the royal laws; behave decorously to your honourable instructors; foster your younger brothers; be sincere towards your friends;

"Live in harmony with your ancestors and living kindred; agree with the neighbouring *heangs*;[1] let husband and wife pursue their respective occupations, and instruct their children and grandchildren;

"At all times practise universal beneficence; accumulate many secret deeds of merit; assist the distressed; aid those in straitened circumstances; compassionate the fatherless and poor;

"Found and adorn large temples; print and compose religious and moral treatises; dispense medicine charitably; give away tea; guard against killing animals, but let them go with life;[2]

"Build bridges; repair roads; shew pity to the widow; raise up the exhausted; be careful of gain; be economical in plenty; adjust people's misunderstandings; explain their differences;

"Contribute from your property to the completion of good works; give instruction and precepts to men; reconcile enemies; measure with equitable *tows*;[3]

"Form intimate friendships with virtuous men: shun and remove far away from wicked men; conceal men's vices, publish abroad their virtues; benefit all creatures in heaven or on the earth; assist your dependants;

"Convert the heart to study correct principles; reform your errors, and examine yourself anew; overflow with benevolence and philanthropy; do not attentively pursue vicious meditations;

"Let every virtue be regarded with attention, heartily trusted in, and practised with respect; although[4] man see it not, the all-seeing divinities have already perceived it;

"The divine protection will be increased; longevity will be doubled; sons will be added to the family; grandsons so ardently desired will be obtained; calamities will be averted; the heaviness of sickness lightened; adversity and misfortune will not gradually creep in; men and animals will all enjoy tranquillity; and fortunate stars will shed their auspicious influences.

---

[1] A village or *heang* consists of 12,500 families. Thus five houses make a *lin* (a neighbourhood); five *lins* one *le*, or lane; five *les* one *tsuh* (clan); five *tsuhs* one *tang* (district); five *tangs* one *chow* (quintal); five *chows* one *heang*.

[2] These words, in the original *fang-sang*, are a Buddhistic formula, and constantly occur in Buddhistic works.

[3] A measure of capacity. Ten *tows* make one *shih*, or 120 catties.

[4] *Suy* is a hypothetic particle, "admitting that man see it not." The passage thus becomes more expressive.

" If any one cherishes a vicious heart and does not practise virtue; corrupts men's wives and daughters; and breaks off people's marriages;

" Ruins men's reputations; envies men's abilities; conspires against men's wealth and productions; and stirs up men's contentious litigations;

" Injures men to benefit himself, to render affluent his own house, and make rich his own person; hates Heaven intensely, and repines bitterly at Earth; abuses rain, and curses the serene expanse of sky;

" Slanders Heaven-nurtured sages, and vilifies those of great and surpassing talents; destroys the likenesses of the Gods, and attempts to deceive the All-viewing Divinities;[1] murderously kills for the purpose of eating cows and dogs; defiles and throws away written paper;[2]

" Trusts in his own might and debases the virtuous; relies on his own riches to oppress the poor; parts asunder those which are the bones and flesh of man; causes brotherly men to bitterly quarrel;

" Disbelieves true principles; leads an impure life; steals; follows low counsels and criminal passions; is ambitious, extravagant, and full of deceitful lies; despises those who practise economy and industry;

" Lightly throws away every kind of grain; is not grateful for obtained kindnesses; attempts to blind his own heart, but notwithstanding keeps by him unequal weights and measures;

" Establishes false and heretical sects, so luring away the credulous from the right path; talks loudly, and makes pretences of ascending to heaven; brings together money to spend it in dissipation;

" In the light imposes on men, and deceives men in the dark; uses flowery and flattering language, speciously cheating with the lips; in the white light of day utters deep and pursuing curses, and conspires to commit assaults in the night season;

" Preserves not pure and untainted with heterodoxy heavenly principles, nor follows the generous impulses of the heart of man; is the leader of men to commit evil deeds; and is unbelieving about a future state of retribution;

---

[1] This might be translated, " destroy the likenesses of the Gods, and thereby makes the All-seeing Divinities grievously wroth."

[2] The character for this word paper (*che*), is formed from that signifying silk, because, in former times, documents were written on silk. After the composition of this treatise, *Tsae-Sun*, in A.D. 940, cut old cloth to pieces, pounded, and made paper of it, from which time the character for cloth entered into the composition of the Chinese written character.

"Perpetrates every vice, nor cultivates any virtuous idea:[1] such a man will be complained of to the government; floods, fire, and robbers will continually assail him;

"Desperate poisons, infectious disease, and plague shall be apportioned to him; his posterity shall be profligates and fools; himself shall be murderously slain; his family shall for his sake be ruined; his sons shall become robbers, his daughters shall be prostitutes;

"The nearer retribution shall fall upon himself; the more distant shall fall upon his children and grandchildren; the All-viewing Divinities look down and examine closely, and with severe scrutiny; they look down — they err not an hair's breadth!

"Virtue and Vice are the twin paths which widely separate misery and happiness; the practice of virtue brings a delightful reward, but misery falls upon those who do evil deeds.

"I have made this treatise, desiring that men should receive and practise its precepts; the words, though poorly culled, and inadequate to the expression of my meaning, will yet greatly benefit body and mind.

"Those who cry 'Ha!' at my speech shall be decapitated and cut to pieces; from those who keep to them, and recite them in their own minds,[2] sorrows shall be averted, and blessings poured down abundantly.

"He who wishes for children, shall have male children; he who desires long life, shall attain to many years; the cravings for riches, honours, and fame, shall all be satisfied;

"Whatever is prayed for shall be obtained, according to the inmost desire of the blood; ten thousand ills shall melt away like to the snow, and opportune occurrences[3] rush in like a troop.

"These words of mine are not selfish, but for the direction of the virtuously-minded; let all men act respectfully according to their tenour. Be not careless; be not darkened."

Such is one of the most ancient Buddhistic documents with which Europeans are acquainted, and I feel myself warranted in asserting, that a more pleasant feeling toward the professors of Buddhism will rise in the reader's mind after its perusal. It is full of beautiful passages, calm and great, fearless in its denunciations of vice, and beneficent as a spring shower in its commendations of virtue.

[1] One feature of Buddhism is that every virtue is considered to be an extenuation of a fault.

[2] Or "recollect them continually."

[3] Or "white happenings."









JERUSALEM.

We are treading on holy ground. We are now seeking, by the too feeble efforts of the pen, to trace the site of those regions which the Saviour of mankind has for ever hallowed by his presence; we are attempting to tell the story of God in his real descent upon the earth, the narrative of those sufferings which the Creator underwent, in order to save us from suffering.

The history of Jerusalem is unlike all other histories. The Jews themselves are, to this day, unlike all other people. Scattered and distributed throughout the world—here, the most miserable agents of the vilest traffic—there, the princes of the mercantile world; in one place robbed of the commonest rights of man, in another bartering their wealth for high office—the Jews, in their cast-off condition, with all the opprobrium earned for them by the wilful misdeeds and self-inflicted blindness of their forefathers, are, even in our own times, a riddle that none can solve—an anomaly wondrous for its internal consistency, and its outward variance with every other existing creed.

Before we enter upon facts, let us meditate for a brief period on the wondrous peculiarities of the Jewish dispensation. Was it consistent with the Divine impartiality, to select an especial nation to be the chosen recipient of the best gifts, the most unbounded protection, at the hands of God? And if so—why should the Jews have been selected? Furthermore, could not the omniscience of God have foreknown their apostacy, and bestowed those blessings on a nation whom he had predestinated not to offend?

Such questions are asked every day, especially by persons who delight in trifling attempts to shake the simple faith of their neighbours, by questions upon subjects which they themselves have never put to the test of fair reflection. The anomalies of the natural world pass by unheeded, yet no one denies the claims of physical science to belief, and to the right of establishing certain laws (howsoever the phenomena of those laws may vary); but theology is tried by a rule to which few other sciences can be submitted—by the *a priori* disbelief of persons whose consciences, as well as imaginations, are set against its assertions.

It has been said that the Jewish nation, by their constant apostacies, proved that they must originally have been undeserving of the high prerogative granted them. It has been frequent matter of surprise that so stiff-necked and so unfaithful a people should have been chosen as those upon whom God's choicest gifts should be bestowed. The noble firmness of the early Spartan or Roman character, the consistent yet bigoted piety of oriental worshippers, have each been placed in disagreeable contrast with the faithless imbecility of those, who, scarcely had their lawgiver turned his back, when they raised the calf that should supersede the God who sustained them from step to step of their journey.

But it may be answered, that though God could never have erred in his judgment, the sins of the Jews were rendered sevenfold heavier by reason of their possession of those blessings. It was not the Almighty who made a bad choice, but it was his chosen ones who deliberately set aside the gifts of God for the things of man. Had another nation been equally blessed, who knows how much their guilt might have been increased? Who shall say that the disposition of the Greek or the Roman would have furnished material more flexible to the Divine purpose? Who shall judge between Him who created all men, and the creatures to whom he gave existence?

It is the natural tendency of human weakness to abuse its best endowments. Wealth, bodily strength, imagination, and invention, are but so many familiar spirits which a few men use to the benefit of themselves and their neighbours, a much larger number turn into means of self-delusion, and the injury of others. Thus was it with the Jews. "We have Abraham to our father," said the haughty, orthodox Pharisee, relying on the respectability of his own creed, not on the God that had bestowed it. While the children of Abraham proudly held up the memory of their ancestor as a beseeming excuse for their petulant insolence, they imperceptibly lost every trace of the character, every impulse of the feelings that had made Abraham "the friend of God." Relying on the Divine promise to fulfil His part of the ancient covenant, they forgot their own share in the contract: exulting in the possession of blessings, they sought not to increase them by their deserts, and, wrapping themselves up in a ceremonious integrity, they lost all the simpleness of heart, all the pure and wholesome reliance on God, which had, in better times, earned the prerogative upon which they now vaunted themselves.

So conspicuously is the tendency towards this haughty carelessness—this artificial faith—developed throughout every part of the sacred history, that it is only by regarding the history of the Jews in this light, that we can form clear ideas of the progress of Jewish history, or explain the seeming inconsistencies with which it is beset. But I must earnestly entreat my readers to bear this feature in mind—a feature which no other history presents with such wonderful distinctness. No other nation ever enjoyed a genuine Theocracy — no other ever possessed gifts so great, or wasted them so wantonly.

The first notice of Jerusalem in Scripture is mysterious and interesting. When the venerable patriarch of the Jews returned from his victorious pursuit of the

kings of the plain, Melchisedec, the king of Salem,[1] came forth to meet him, and, in his twofold capacity of priest and king, pronounced a solemn benediction upon the victorious emir. Hereupon Abraham, filled with pious gratitude for the victory he had won, gave Melchisedec "tithe of all."[2]

Our next notice of Jerusalem, under its proper name, is connected with the alliance of Adoni-zedek with other kings, in a fruitless attempt against Joshua. It is again mentioned among the cities of Benjamin, in describing the northern boundary of Judah. But the most important event before the time of David, is its capture by the tribes of Judah and Simeon,[3] after which time we find the Judahites and Benjamites dwelling together at Jerusalem, without, however, succeeding in driving out the Jebusites.

But it is in the reign of David that Jerusalem begins to be of real importance in history. The tribe of Judah could proudly point to Hebron and Macpelah as places of high and holy interest; and their influence had developed itself in a series of attempts to act independently of the other tribes. The blessing of the birthright, which had departed from the first-born of Jacob, Reuben, seems to have been considered the property of Judah; and although the Ephraimites might claim Shiloh as the place where the ark of the covenant had so long found a secure habitation, Judah kept the pre-eminence. Of this tribe was David; and it was therefore natural that he would choose a royal city within its territories. Jerusalem, being nearer the other tribes than any other which he could have chosen within the precincts of Judah,

[1] I adopt, with the generality of critics, the statement which makes Salem the same as Jerusalem afterwards. St. Jerome thought that Salem, near Seythopolis, was the city meant.—See Calmet, p. 515, of my edition.

[2] Gen. xiv. 10. This was not, one would suppose, intended as an offering to Melchizedec in his sacerdotal capacity, but as a thank-offering to be sacrificed in honour of the victory just gained.

[3] Cf. Josh. i.

was selected for the purpose, being, moreover, admirably qualified by the strength of its situation, enclosed on three sides by a natural rench of valleys. Although the Divine mandate, which required all the adult males of Israel to visit the place of the Divine presence three times in the year, rendered this situation inconvenient for many — an inconvenience which seems to have paved the way to the subsequent revolt of the ten tribes, and to the setting up of images at Dan and Bethel; still, we must feel persuaded that David, actuated as he was by a Divine impulse, and directed by the immediate communications of the Deity, must have had ample reasons for selecting Jerusalem as the place which was to become the glory of his own kingdom, and the scene of the most important change, the most absorbing revolution that ever agitated the earth.[1]

Mount Moriah, already rendered famous as the scene of Abraham's early trial of faith, was chosen by God as the site of his temple, thereby confirming the choice David had made. Thus, under his successor, Jerusalem became not only the royal city, but the very seat and centre of the Jewish theocracy—the place where the Shechinah sat "between the cherubims," where the glory of the face of God ever regarded his people. It was of this place that Moses had said: "The place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there: even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither shalt thou come." Its

[1] Many travellers have suggested that Samaria, which afterwards became the metropolis of the separated kingdom, was far preferable to Jerusalem for the site of a capital city; and its centrical situation would also have been in its favour as a metropolis for all the tribes. But as the choice of David was subsequently confirmed by the Divine appointment, which made Mount Moriah the site of the temple, we are bound to consider the choice as having been providentially ordered with reference to the contingencies that afterwards arose, by which Jerusalem was made the capital of the separate kingdom of Judah, for which it was well adapted.

city. Probably as a rebuke to the negligent character of Rehoboam, who shewed a tendency to the idolatry of the surrounding nations, Shishak, king of Egypt, was permitted to conquer the city, and pillage the treasures of the temple;[1] and under succeeding kings it sustained considerable loss and spoliation.

Hezekiah, a prince of a mild yet stedfast policy, bestowed great pains upon the improvement of Jerusalem, especially by stopping the upper course of the Gihon, and bringing its waters to the western side of the city by means of a subterraneous aqueduct. His son Manasseh, whose earlier reign had been disgraced by idolatry, and saddened by its punishment, shewed his repentance at a later period of life by adorning the city of the Lord, especially by throwing up a high wall on the western side.

But the vacillating and fickle minds of the Jews, swayed by indolent and profligate leaders, fell gradually deeper and deeper into the defilements of idolatry. The emphatic behest of their old lawgiver, that they should "observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book, that they might fear this glorious and fearful name, THE LORD THY GOD,"[2] was forgotten or unheeded; and the threatened scourge of their disobedience descended in the person of Nebuchadnezzar, who razed the walls of Jerusalem to the ground, and ravaged its temple and palaces with fire and sword.

In the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiachim, Jeremiah having vainly sought to withdraw the people from their sins, God commanded him to write in a

were the golden calf of Aaron, those afterwards set up by Jeroboam in Israel, the ephod of Gideon, and the ephod, the teraphim, and the images of Micah; but, in every one of these instances, far from rejecting Jehovah as their God, the images, symbols, and rites employed, were designed to honour him, by imitating the manner in which the most distinguished nations the Jews were acquainted with, worshipped their supreme divinities."—Graves on the Pentateuch, Part iii. lect. 2.

[1] B.C. 973. [2] Deut. xxviii. 58

roll all the words of prophecy which he had spoken against Israel and Judah, from the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign, when he was first called to the prophetic office. Baruch, his scribe, wrote them from his master's dictation; and, as Jeremiah was still in prison for having denounced the future punishments that awaited the Jews, he read them in the hearing of all the people, whilst assembled together on the great day of expiation. Ominous was the choice of this day for the declaration of prophecies fraught with so much of pain and terror!

When Judah was thus transported to Babylon, the other ten tribes of Israel had already bewailed for upwards of 130 years their captivity in Assyria. Melancholy was the desolation that told where the conquering host of Nebuchadnezzar had been. The castle of David, Solomon's temple, and the entire city, presented nought save heaps of charred and blackened ruins, and it seemed as though the holy city and the chosen people of God had come to an end. Yet did the Lord "turn again, look down from heaven, and behold, and visit this vine."

Sad is the picture drawn by the prophet of Jerusalem in her forlorn state. "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! how is she become as a widow! she that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary! she weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks: among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her: all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become her enemies. Judah is gone into captivity, because of affliction, and because of great servitude: she dwelleth among the heathen, she findeth no rest: all her persecutors overtook her between the straits. The ways of Zion do mourn, because none come to the solemn feasts: all her gates are desolate: her priests sigh, her virgins are afflicted, and she is in bitterness. Her adversaries are the chief, her enemies prosper; for the Lord hath afflicted her for

the multitude of her transgressions: her children are gone into captivity before the enemy. And from the daughter of Zion all her beauty is departed: her princes are become like harts that find no pasture, and they are gone without strength before the pursuer. Jerusalem remembered in the days of her affliction and of her miseries all her pleasant things that she had in the days of old, when her people fell into the hand of the enemy, and none did help her: the adversaries saw her, and did mock at her Sabbaths. Jerusalem hath grievously sinned; therefore she is removed: all that honoured her despise her, because they have seen her nakedness: yea, she sigheth, and turneth backward. Her filthiness is in her skirts; she remembereth not her last end; therefore she came down wonderfully: she had no comforter. O Lord, behold my affliction; for the enemy hath magnified himself. The adversary hath spread out his hand upon all her pleasant things: for she hath seen that the heathen entered into her sanctuary, when thou didst command that they should not enter into thy congregation. All her people sigh, they seek bread; they have given their pleasant things for meat to relieve the soul: see, O Lord, and consider; for I am become vile. Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger. From above hath he sent fire into my bones, and it prevaileth against them: he hath spread a net for my feet, he hath turned me back: he hath made me desolate and faint all the day. The yoke of my transgressions is bound by his hand: they are wreathed, and come up upon my neck: he hath made my strength to fall, the Lord hath delivered me into their hands, from whom I am not able to rise up. The Lord hath trodden down under foot all my mighty men in the midst of me: he hath called an assembly against me *to crush* my young men: the Lord hath trodden the

virgins of Judah as in a winepress. For these things I weep; mine eye, mine eye runneth down with water, because the comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me: my children are desolate because the enemy prevailed."[1]

I will not enter into a detailed account of the prophecies, which, even from the time of Moses,[2] had promised the restoration of the Jews to the land from which their own disobedience had estranged them, nor will our pages admit of a description of the various circumstances attendant on their restoration under Cyrus[3] and Darius Hystaspis. Those prophets, who flourished after the exile to Babylon, unite in magnificent predictions respecting the future glory of the new temple and city. But although the dimensions of the new temple probably exceeded those of the one built by Solomon, it lacked certain features by which, in happier days, the favours of God had been manifestly and immediately declared. The Ark of the Covenant and the Mercy Seat; the Shekinah, or divine glory; the Urim and Thummim; the Holy unquenchable fire upon the altar; and the spirit of prophecy—all these gifts had departed from the priesthood, gifts for which no grandeur of dimensions, no splendour of decoration, could compensate. Well therefore might God say, "who is left among you that saw this house in her first glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?"[4]

After the death of Alexander the Great, Ptolemy took Jerusalem by surprise, plundered the city, and carried many Jews into captivity in Egypt. Under the mild dominion of the Ptolemies, they subsequently enjoyed tranquillity, and an uninterrupted freedom in following their own religion. At the termination, however, of the war waged against the Egyptians and

[1] Lament, i. 1, sq. [2] Deut. xxx. 1-5. [3] B.C. 536.
[4] Hagg. ii. 3. The reader will find a copious and valuable account of the whole of the matters connected with the building of the temple in Prideaux, i. bk. iii. p. 188, sq.

Antiochus the Great, the Jews, who had latterly favoured the cause of that enterprising general, were rewarded by him with several important privileges. He directed that the outworks of the temple should be completed, and that all materials for the requisite repairs should be exempt from taxation. He also paid particular attention to enforcing a strict observance of the sanctity of the temple. No foreigner was allowed to pass the sacred precinct; and the city itself was to be protected from the pollution of bringing the flesh or skins of unclean beasts within its walls.

But the peace and tranquillity which the Jews had enjoyed under the mild and liberal sway of Antiochus was not of long duration. Antiochus Epiphanes formed the design of amalgamating the Jews with other nations by a conformity in manners and religion; in a word, by destroying the individualities which had marked the Jews for a distinct and exclusive people. To the jealous conservative principles of the Jews, any swerving from the systems of their forefathers was odious in the extreme, and those Jews who seemed to favour the project were disgraced and expelled with ignominy.[1] The supposed death of Antiochus in Egypt proved a false rumour, and bitterly did he retaliate upon the Jews for the rejoicings to which they had given way on hearing the news. Two years after, disappointed in his attempts against Egypt, he, in a fit of ill-humour, sent his chief collector of tribute, Apollonius, with 22,000 men, who pillaged the city, razed its walls, and built with the stones a citadel that overlooked the temple mount. A statue of Jupiter was set up in the temple, and daily sacrifices were discontinued, and priests and people sought a refuge from persecution by quitting the profaned and desolated city.

At this juncture, when Jerusalem seemed well nigh ruined, and when God and man alike seemed to have left her to her fate, one of those wondrous instances of

[1] Especially the high priest Menelaus, B.C. 169.

personal valour and energy, which appear at rare intervals in the pages of history, assisted the progress of mischief, and aroused the failing spirits of the Jews. The name of the Maccabees must live for ever in the annals of men's best deeds. With the three hundred at Thermopylæ, with the Fabii of old Rome, Judas and his valiant followers will ever occupy a niche in the archives of history, of which no worthier claimant can dispossess them. To detail the instances of individual courage, and the battles sustained by this little band against vast hosts of barbarian forces, were a fitting theme for a Macaulay. After a fearful scene of struggle and slaughter Jerusalem was retaken,[1] the temple repaired and purified, the heathen abominations cast out, and the original worship restored. Nevertheless, the Syrians retained possession of the castle, and proved a continual source of annoyance to the Jews till B.C. 142, when Simon forced the garrison, and demolished the castle. He then fortified the mountain on which the temple stood, and built there a palace for himself, which became the regular residence of the Maccabæan princes. John Hyrcanus turned this into a fortress, which is called by Josephus, "the castle of Baris." At a subsequent period it was strengthened and enlarged by Herod the Great, under the name of the castle of Antonia.

In the summer of B.C. 63, Pompey surprised the Jews whilst celebrating a solemn fast in commemoration of the conquest by Nebuchadnezzar. One thousand two hundred Jews were massacred in the temple courts, and many of the priests died at the altar rather than suspend the performance of the sacred rites. He did not, however, pillage the sanctuary of its treasures, but what he had spared were seized a few years after by Crassus, B.C. 51. In B.C. 43, the walls of the city, which Pompey had demolished, were rebuilt by Antipater, the father of that Herod the Great, under whom Jerusalem assumed a new and magnificent

[1] B.C. 163.

appearance. It is this Jerusalem that Josephus describes; and, by way of breaking the uniformity of a connected history, we will quote his account of the gradual extension of Jerusalem from its first conquest to its enlargement under Herod: —

"The city was built on two hills, which are opposite to each other, having a valley to divide them asunder; at which valley the corresponding rows of houses terminate. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly, it was called 'the citadel,' by King David: he was father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but it is by us called 'the upper market-place.' But the other hill, which is called 'Acra,' and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of the moon when she is horned; over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted, formerly, from the other by a broad valley. In the time when the Asmonians reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to a less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be above it. Now the valley of the cheesemongers, as it was called, was that which distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, and extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also.

"But on the outsides, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and, by reason of the precipices belonging to them on both sides, are everywhere impassable." . . . . . "As the city grew more populous, it gradually crept behind its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill which is in number the fourth, and is called 'Bezetha,' to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose. This new built

part of the city was called 'Bezethe,' in our language, which, if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called 'the new city.'"[1]

The Jews were at first afraid of Herod's proposal to pull down the old temple, lest he should not be able to rebuild it. But he, wishing to calm their fears on this head, promised not to meddle with the old structure, until the materials were collected, and the arrangements completed, for building the new. Just forty-six years before the first passover of our Lord's ministry[2] was the work commenced, and even then it was by no means finished. Of its magnificence Scripture furnishes us with abundant testimony, and a Pagan writer describes Jerusalem at this period as "far the most splendid city, not of Judea only, but of the whole East."[3]

But the restoration of Jerusalem to a state of grandeur equalling that of its most prosperous days was but the brilliant scintillation of glowing heat that preceded its speedy extinction. We will not repeat the sad and gloomy story of the Second Fall of Man. We will not—rife as is every corner of Jerusalem with the memorials of such associations—recall back the awful story of the death of Him whose blood was shed at Calvary. Such details must be reserved for the historian of Christ's earthly career. Let us, however, trace the fulfilment of those soul-harrowing prophecies[4] that the son of man hurled forth against "his own, unto whom he came, and his own received him not."

Terrific was the season of carnage and destruction that set in. Domestic murder, famine in its most revolting forms, fire, prodigies denouncing the wrath of Heaven, superstition exaggerating those prodigies—a resistless host at the gates, starvation and anarchy within—such was the ghastly scene that

[1] Bell. Judaic, v. 4.
[2] John ii. 20; Cf. Prideaux, iv. p. 872; anno 17 B.C.
[3] Pliny, H. N. v. 16.
[4] Matt. xxiv. 6, sqq.; Luke xxi. 20, sqq.

painted the fulfilment of Christ's prophecies in letters of blood, with a torch of fire. The very ingenuity of horror itself seemed exhausted in pouring woes upon the devoted city — the desperate valour, stubborn perseverance, and barbarous cruelty which animated both sides, fill the pages of voluminous history, but defy description even of the most detailed character.[1]

A few families still remained amid the ruins of Jerusalem, and they were comparatively unmolested. But though still under the yoke of a garrison, and

[1] The date of the capture of Jerusalem by Titus is A.D. 70. A description of Jerusalem, by a pagan historian, may advantageously be compared with the one already given from Josephus :—

"Jerusalem stood upon an eminence, difficult of approach. The natural strength of the place was increased by redoubts and bulwarks, which even on the level plain would have made it secure from insult. Two hills that rose to a prodigious height were enclosed by walls, constructed with skill, in some places projecting forward, in others retiring inwardly, with the angles so formed that the besiegers were always liable to be annoyed in flank. The extremities of the rock were sharp, abrupt, and craggy. In convenient places, near the summit, towers were raised sixty feet high, and others, on the declivity of the sides, rose no less than 120 feet. These works presented a spectacle altogether astonishing. To the distant eye they seemed to be of equal elevation. Within the city there were other fortifications enclosing the palace of the kings. Above all was seen, conspicuous to view, the tower of Antonia, so called by Herod in honour of the triumvir, who had been his friend and benefactor. The temple itself was a strong fortress, in the nature of a citadel. The fortifications were built with consummate skill, surpassing in art, as well as labour, all the rest of the works. The very porticos that surrounded it were a strong defence. A perennial spring supplied the place with water. Subterraneous caverns were scooped under the rock, the rain water was saved in pools and cisterns. Since the reduction of the place by Pompey, experience had taught the Jews new modes of fortification; and the corruption and venality that pervaded the reign of Claudius, favoured all their projects. By bribery they obtained permission to rebuild their walls. The strength of their works plainly shewed, that, in profound peace, they meditated future resistance." — (Tacitus) Hist. lib. v. (Murphy's translation.)

themselves miserably reduced in numbers and resources, the native stubbornness of the Jews led them to hope for an opportunity of shaking off the Roman yoke. Adrian, probably aware of this turbulent disposition, attempted to rebuild Jerusalem as a fortified city, with the view of keeping the Jews in check. Unwilling that strangers and heathen deities should again defile their precincts, the Jews broke out into open rebellion under Barchochebas, one of the impostors who had pretended to be the Messiah. They were at first successful, but a war ensued, little inferior to the last in its horrors, and Jerusalem was retaken in A. D. 135. It was now made a Roman colony, inhabited wholly by foreigners, and it was made death for its own inhabitants to approach it. Mount Moriah, where Abraham had earned the Jews their proud position as children of God, was now the site of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus. Even the old name was supplanted by that of Aelia Capitolina.

Jerusalem remained a blank in history till the year A. D. 326, when Helena, the mother of Constantine, then in the eightieth year of her age, undertook a pilgrimage thither, and built churches on the supposed site of the nativity at Bethlehem, and of the resurrection on the Mount of Olives. Stimulated by her example, Constantine commenced an eager search after the Holy Sepulchre, and built a magnificent church over the sacred site, which was solemnly dedicated A. D. 335. One day in the year the Jews were permitted to enter the city to bewail the desolation of "the holy and beautiful house" in which their fathers had worshipped God.

In succeeding centuries the roads to Zion were thronged with cavalcades of pilgrims,[1] and the neigh-

[1] To give some idea of the dangers which beset pilgrims even when the first Crusade had paved the way to some security, I extract the following passage from Saewulf, one of the most ancient travellers to the Holy Land (A.D. 1102):—"From Joppa to Jerusalem is a journey of two days, by a mountainous

bourhood abounded in monasteries filled with those who had changed the toils and vices of the world for a specious sanctity and an austere retirement. In A.D. 451 Jerusalem was declared a patriarchate by the Council of Chalcedon, and in A.D. 527 Justinian built a magnificent chapel upon Mount Moriah in honour of the Virgin.

The Persians, and subsequently the Arabians, necessarily became masters of Jerusalem, and the Moslem yoke pressed with severe and extortionate hands upon the pilgrims who flocked thither. The cruelties and exorbitant demands of the Turks, who had dispossessed the Khaliffs of Egypt in A.D. 1073, gave an immediate impulse to that most extraordinary of undertakings—the Crusades.

The idea of a holy war against the infidels, who thus barred Jerusalem against the approach of the faithful, had previously occurred to Pope Gregory VII. But it was not until the preaching of Peter the Hermit, that the project met with any warm reception or support. This extraordinary man, during a voyage

road, very rough, and dangerous on account of the Saracens, who lie in wait in the caves of the mountains to surprise the Christians, watching both day and night to surprise those less capable of resisting by the smallness of their company, or the weary who may chance to lag behind their companions. At one moment you see them on every side; they are altogether invisible, as may be witnessed by any body travelling there. Numbers of human bodies lie scattered in the way, and by the wayside, torn to pieces by wild beasts. Some may, perhaps, wonder that the bodies of Christians are allowed to remain unburied, but it is not surprising when we consider that there is not much earth on the hard rock to dig a grave for a companion. Indeed, if he did so he would be rather digging a grave for himself than for the dead man. For on that road, not only the poor and weak, but the rich and strong are surrounded with perils; many are cut off by the Saracens, but more by heat and thirst; many perish by the want of drink, but more by too much drinking. We, however, with all our company, reached the end of our journey in safety. Blessed be the Lord, who did not turn away my prayer, and hath not turned his mercy from me. Amen."—Early Travels in Palestine, p. 36.

through Palestine,[1] had observed with anguish the harassment and persecutions undergone by the Christians, and, inflamed by an holy indignation, which he, doubtless, regarded as immediately inspired by Heaven, he implored Pope Urban II. to interfere on behalf of the faithful, but without effect. Nought discouraged, the enthusiastic monk travelled through the countries of Europe "sounding the alarm of a holy war against the infidel nations, and exhorting all Christian princes to draw the sword against the tyrants of Palestine; nor did he stop here, but with a view to engage the superstitious and ignorant multitude in his cause, he carried about with him a letter, which he said was written in heaven, and addressed from thence to all true Christians, to animate their zeal for the deliverance of their brethren, who groaned under the oppressive burden of a Mahometan yoke."[2]

Urban II., who had probably cared very little about the matter previously, no sooner found that the work was half accomplished, than he evinced a sudden zeal for the undertaking. Having assembled a numerous synod at Placentia (A.D. 1095), he urged the holy carnage with all the authority that his dignity or his eloquence could furnish. Nevertheless, a great part of his hearers seemed to hang back, and it was not until the council held at Clermont, a city of Auvergne, that his pompous and pathetic language had the desired effect. After invidiously detailing the advantages which the unbelievers had contrived to gain and keep fast throughout the largest portion of the known world, after setting forth, in strong colours, the extortion and cruelty with which the Saracens treated their brethren, he concluded his oration with the following ingenious combination of encouragement and promises:—

[1] A.D. 1093. My leading authority is Mosheim, Eccl. Hist. Cent. XI., pt. I. c. 1. Peter the Hermit had first applied to Simeon, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. See Roger of Wendover, A.D. 1095, i. p. 379. (Giles's translation.) [2] Mosheim.

"Gird yourselves then for the battle, my brave warriors, for a memorable expedition against the enemies of the cross. Let the sign of the cross decorate your shoulders in token that you will aid to propagate Christianity; let your outward ardour declare your inward faith. Turn against the enemies of Christ those weapons which you have hitherto stained with blood in battle and tournament among yourselves. Let your zeal in this expedition atone for the rapine, theft, homicide, and fornication, the adulteries, and deeds of incendiarism, by which you have provoked the Lord to anger. Have compassion on your brethren who dwell in Jerusalem and the coasts thereof; check the insolence of the barbarians, whose object is to destroy the Christian name. For ourselves we will trust in the mercy of Almighty God, and the authority of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul: and, in virtue of the power which God hath given us, however unworthy of it, to bind and to loose, all who engage in this expedition in their own persons and at their own expense, shall receive a full pardon for all the offences, which they shall repent of in their hearts, and with their lips confess; and, in retribution of the just, we promise to the same an increased portion of eternal salvation. And this forgiveness shall extend also to those who shall contribute, according to their substance, to promote this expedition, or shall lend their counsel or their assistance to its success. Go then, brave soldiers, and secure to yourselves fame throughout the world; dismiss all fear of death from your minds; for the sufferings of this world are not meet to be compared with the future glory which shall be revealed to us. Such are our commands to you who are present; such our instructions to be delivered to the absent; and we fix the spring next ensuing as the term for your operations to commence. God will accompany you on your march, and the season of the year be propitious both by abundance of fruits and by the serenity of the elements. Those who shall die,

will sit down in the heavenly guest-chamber, and those who survive will set their eyes on the Lord's sepulchre. Happy are they who are called to this expedition, that they may see the holy places in which our Lord conversed with man, and where, to save them, he was born, crucified, died, was buried, and rose again."[1]

The first enterprise, headed by Peter the Hermit in person, came to an end as ridiculous as the character of the troops he led would naturally lead one to expect. Drafted off, without discrimination, from the lowest ranks of society, without discipline, and without any motive save the hope of pillage, this "ragged regiment" committed such enormities during their march through Hungary and Thrace, that they were soon cut to pieces. No other result could have been expected from the idle rabble of a set of unprincipled fanatics, headed by a man whose enthusiasm was no guarantee for his capability to command.

But the Crusades, fortunately for the small amount of real credit they deserve, were not left long to such conduct. A well organized force of 80,000, horse and foot, were enlisted under the command of Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, and his brother Baldwin, and various other detachments, equally well headed, continued to reinforce the expedition.

It is probable that few persons at the present day feel much sympathy in the motives which led to the Crusades, or in the undertaking itself. But whatever views may be entertained as to the policy of the attempt, whatever doubts may fairly exist as to the sincerity of some of its promoters—one character must stand forth on the page of history. Deeply associated with the tender chivalry of Tasso, blending all the prowess of the hardy chieftain of early history with the not unpleasing marvels of ancient legend, Godfrey

[1] Roger de Wendover, i. p. 377, sq. I could not resist transcribing this curious specimen of papal oratory, in which, however, the reader will probably discover more of rhetoric than of eloquence.

de Bouillon must ever live in our recollection, and must ever be remembered as the hero and the Christian.

This "brilliant mirror of Christian nobility, in which, as in a splendid ceiling, the lustre of every virtue was reflected,"[1] joined gigantic bodily strength and heroic prowess with a humane and pious disposition, in which practical humility shone without ostentation. Vigorous in pursuing an advantage, wary in securing his own forces, and merciful in his treatment of the vanquished, Godfrey found himself in victorious possession of Jerusalem,[2] and the unanimous voice of the combined forces declared him King. But although he received the regal dignity thus conferred, he declined the symbol of royalty, declaring that "it were too great arrogance for him to be crowned for glory, in that city, in which God had been crowned in mockery."[3] But he was not destined to enjoy his honours long. An herculean frame was no defence against the wear and tear of hard service, or the baleful effects of a climate so different from his own, and he died calmly in his bed the next year, surrounded by weeping friends, and leaving a reputation tarnished with few of the vices which are ever wont to sully the name of conqueror.

So quaintly characteristic is the panegyric given of Godfrey and his confederate Tancred, by William of Malmesbury,[4] that, in justice to our own interesting old historian, I must crave the reader's attention to it:—

"Godfrey and Tancred alone remained; princes, truly noble, and to whose glory, posterity, if it judge rightly, never can set limits: men who, from the intense cold of Europe, plunged into the insupportable heat of the East: prodigal of their own lives, so that

[1] William of Malmesbury, bk. iv. ch. 2, p. 390, ed. Giles.

[2] Jerusalem was taken July 15, 1099, after a brisk siege of forty days.

[3] William of Malmesbury, *ibid.* p. 395.

[4] P. 391, sq. This historian is amusing in the marvellous *anecdotes* he details of Godfrey's prowess.

they could succour suffering Christianity. Who, besides the fears of barbarous incursions, in constant apprehension from the unwholesomeness of an unknown climate, despised the security of rest and of health in their own country; and although very few in number, kept in subjection so many hostile cities by their reputation and prowess. They were memorable patterns, too, of trust in God, not hesitating to remain in that climate, where they might either suffer from pestilential air or be slain by the rage of the Saracens. Let the celebration of the poets then give way, nor let ancient fiction extol her earliest heroes. No age hath produced aught comparable to the fame of these men. For, if the ancients had any merit, it vanished after death with the smoke of their funeral pile; because it had been spent rather on the vapour of earthly reputation than in the acquisition of substantial good. But the utility of these men's valour will be felt, and its dignity acknowledged, as long as the world shall continue to revolve, or pure Christianity to flourish. What shall I say of the good order and forbearance of the whole army? There was no gluttony; no licentiousness, which was not directly corrected by the authority of the commanders, or the preaching of the bishops. There was no wish to plunder as they passed through the territories of the Christians; no controversy among themselves, which was not easily settled by the examination of mediators."

To return from this digression. In A.D. 1187 the Christians lost possession of Jerusalem, and the Cross was prostrated beneath the Crescent under the victorious Saladin. Richard the First proved unsuccessful in his attempts to wrest the holy city from the hands of the infidels, Saladin having strengthened it with additional fortifications. Few events of importance occurred afterwards, beyond the occasional destruction or rebuilding of the city walls (according to the policy of its respective Mahommedan masters); and although mount Zion now boasts a Christian church capable of

holding 500 persons, although a bishoprick has been established by the Prussian government and our own, Jerusalem is to this day in the hands of the Unfaithful.

Before presenting my readers with the descriptions furnished by different eye-witnesses, I must observe that it is almost impossible to identify the localities which the Christian will be most interested in finding; nor will my limits allow me to enter into a detail of the controversies to which these disputes have given rise.[1] The obvious varieties of architecture, the depression or elevation of sites, and the filling up of portions of the valleys, present an amount of topographical difficulties scarcely equalled by any other instance. Richardson[2] has eloquently described the difficulties and the interest attendant on such an investigation:—

"It is a tantalizing circumstance for the traveller who wishes to recognise in his walks the site of particular buildings, or the scenes of memorable events, that the greater part of the objects mentioned in the description, both of the inspired and Jewish historian, are entirely rased from their foundation, without leaving a single trace or name behind to point out where they stood. Not an ancient tower, or gate, or wall, or hardly even a stone remains. The foundations are not only broken up, but every fragment of which they were composed is swept away, and the spectator looks upon the bare rock, with hardly a sprinkling of earth to point out her gardens of pleasure, or groves of idolatrous devotion. A few gardens still remain on the sloping base of mount Zion, watered from the pool of Siloam: the gardens of Gethsemane are still in a sort of ruined cultivation; the fences are broken down and the olive trees decaying, as if the

[1] Williams's "Holy City" is a work of much erudition and judgment, although its general tendency rather points out the difficulties, than settles the disputed questions.

[2] Travels, ii. 251, quoted by Kitto.

hand which dressed and fed them were withdrawn. The mount of Olives still retains a languishing verdure, and nourishes a few of those trees from which it derives its name; but all round about Jerusalem the general aspect is blighted and barren: the grass is withered, the bare rock looks through the scanty sward, and the grain itself, like the starving progeny of famine, seems in doubt whether to come to maturity, or die in the ear. Jerusalem has heard the voice of David and Solomon, of prophets and apostles; and He who spake as a man never spake, has taught in her synagogues and in her streets. Before her legislators, her poets, and her apostles, those of all other countries become dumb, and cast down their crowns, as unworthy to stand in their presence. Once she was very rich in every blessing, victorious over all her enemies, and resting in peace with every man sitting under his own vine and under his own fig-tree, with none to disturb or make him afraid. Jerusalem was the brightest of all the cities of the East, and fortified above all other towns; so strong, that the Roman conqueror thereof, and the master of the whole world besides, exclaimed, on entering the city of David, and looking up at the towers which the Jews had abandoned, 'Surely we have had God for our assistance in the war: for what could human hands or human machines do against these towers? It is no other than God who has expelled the Jews from their fortifications.' It is impossible for the Christian traveller to look upon Jerusalem with the same feelings with which he would set himself to contemplate the ruins of Thebes, or Athens, or of Rome, or of any other city which the world ever saw. There is in all the doings of the Jews, their virtues and their vices, their wisdom and their folly, a height and a depth, a breadth and a length, that angels cannot fathom. Their whole history is a history of miracles; the precepts of their sacred book are the most profound, and the best adapted to every station in which man can be placed: they moderate him in prosperity, sustain him in ad-

versity, guide him in health, console him in sickness, support him in the close of life, travel on with him through death, live with him throughout endless ages of eternity, and Jerusalem lends its name to the eternal mansions of the blessed in heaven, which man is admitted to enjoy through the atonement of Christ Jesus, who was born of a descendant of Judah."

Equally painful is the picture of gloomy uncertainty portrayed by Lord Castlereagh:—

"We were shewn the place to which the Jews repair to mourn[1] over their departed glories, and the fate of their glorious temple. To the west of the mosque of Omar a range of huge stones forms the base of and supports the more modern walls, which bears good evidence, by its appearance, of dating from the earliest ages, and of having escaped the general destruction which so often visited the city. This portion has remained amid the convulsions of centuries almost unimpaired, except in its outward appearance. There is a peculiar cutting or frame work, round the edge, which is remarkable for its execution and finish.

"Similar marks are found upon masonry near Hebron, which are supposed to belong to the same period. To this spot, on Friday, the Jews repair, and sitting on the ruins, read the proud yet sorrowful history of their race, and pray for its restitution to its ancient splendour. One corner is considered particularly sacred, as being nearest to the spot occupied by the Holy of Holies. Here they succeed each other in prayer. Women and men kiss the ruined walls of the temple, and worship the God whose Son they rejected, and whose warnings and prophecies they despised.

"How fearfully does this general destruction fulfil all that has been foretold. Jerusalem—at least all that was sacred and hallowed about her—is indeed a heap of stones. Nothing can be safely pronounced to be identical with her palmy days, except these or similar ruins, and the absolute uncertainty which hangs over

[1] The origin of this custom has already been mentioned.

her desolation, shews that the inscrutable ways of God are accomplished, not only in the spirit, but in the letter of His word."[1]

Some idea of the general surrounding scenery will form an interesting introduction to the too modern city that now bears the name of Jerusalem.

"We rested ourselves," continues Castlereagh,[2] "in the convent[2] garden, lying under a huge fig-tree, watching the last rays of the sun, surrounding, as with a glory, the top of the Mount of Olives, but in vain endeavouring to pierce the dark vapours rising from the sites of Sodom and Gomorrah. The garden was, as usual, half wild, but the orange and pomegranate, some very sweet geranium, and some carnations, made amends for the dilapidations of the walls, and the rotten state of the paling. Indeed, the very want of order makes these places more picturesque than the trim parterres of our own country. Here there is a freedom of nature unchecked in its exuberance of blossom and foliage. No pruning-knife is allowed to control her luxuriance, and she makes amends for man's carelessness and indolent neglect."

More detailed and complete, but no less spirited, is the following picture of Jerusalem, as seen from the Mount of Olives, by Buckingham :—

"Reposing beneath the shade of an olive-tree, upon the brow of this hill (the Mount of Olives), we enjoyed from hence a fine prospect of Jerusalem on the opposite one. This city occupies an irregular square, of about two miles and a half in circumference. Its shortest apparent side is that which faces the east, and in this is the supposed gate of the ancient temple, now closed up, and the small projecting stone on which Mohammed is to sit, when the world is to be assembled to judgment in the vale below. The southern side is exceedingly irregular, taking quite a zig-zag direction;

[1] Diary of a Journey, &c. ii. p. 121, sq. [2] P. 123.

[3] *i. e.* the Armenian Convent of St. James, where Lord Castlereagh's party staid.

the south-west extreme being terminated by the mosque built over the supposed sepulchre of David, on the summit of Mount Sion. The form and exact direction of the western and southern walls, are not distinctly seen from hence; but every part of this appears to be a modern work, and executed at the same time. The walls are flanked at irregular distances by square towers, and have battlements running all around on their summits, with loopholes for arrows or musketry, close to the top. The walls appear to be about fifty feet in height, but are not surrounded by a ditch. The northern wall runs over slightly declining ground; the eastern wall runs straight along the brow of Mount Moriah, with the deep valley of Jehoshaphat below; the southern wall runs over the summit of the hill assumed as Mount Sion, with the vale of the Hinnom at its feet; and the western wall runs along on more level ground, near the summit of the high and stony mountains over which we had first approached the town. As the city is thus seated on the brow of one large hill, divided by name into several smaller hills, and the whole of these slope gently down towards the east, this view, from the Mount of Olives, a position of greater height than that on which the highest part of the city stands, commands nearly the whole of it at once.

"On the north, it is bounded by a level and apparently fertile space, now covered with olive-trees, particularly near the north-east angle. On the south, the steep side of Mount Sion, and the valley of Hinnom, both shew patches of cultivation, and little garden enclosures. On the west, the sterile summits of the hills there, barely lift their outlines above the dwellings. And on the east, the deep valley of Jehoshaphat, now at our feet, has some partial spots relieved by trees, though as forbidding in its general aspect as the vale of death could ever be desired to be by those who have chosen it for the place of their interment.

"Within the walls of the city are seen crowded dwellings, remarkable in no respect except being

terraced by flat roofs, and generally built of stone. On the south, are some gardens and vineyards, with the long red mosque of Al Sakhara, having two tiers of windows, a sloping roof, and a dark dome at one end, and the mosque of Sion and the sepulchre of David in the same quarter. On the west, is seen the high, square castle, and palace of the same monarch, near the Bethlehem gate. In the centre, rise the two cupolas of unequal form and size; the one blue, and the other white, covering the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Around, in different directions, are seen the minarets of eight or ten mosques, amid an assemblage of about two thousand dwellings; and on the east, is seated the great mosque of Al Harren, or, as called by Christians, the mosque of Solomon, from being supposed, with that of Al Sakhara near it, to occupy the site of the ancient temple of that splendid and luxurious king."[1]

"The Christian pilgrim, approaching Jerusalem for the first time, will probably be disappointed to find that his emotions, on the first sight of a city associated in his mind from his earliest infancy with all that is most sacred, are so much less intense than he anticipated, and that he can look on Mount Olivet and Mount Sion with feelings, certainly not of indifference, but of much less painful interest than he imagined possible, when he thought on them at a distance. The truth is, the events transacted here are so great in every view, that the mind cannot at once grasp them; but is, as it were, stupified by the effort; it takes time to realize the truth, that this is the home of Scripture history—the cradle of the Christian Church. But the feeling of attachment to the Holy City, and its sacred localities, will soon be formed, and will be deepened by time, to a calm satisfaction, a peaceful resting in it as the home of one's affections, which no other spot on earth can impart. For there is a halo about Jerusalem, an atmosphere which one drinks in, not only on the moun-

[1] Travels in Palestine, p. 203, sqq.

tains around, but even amid its crumbling ruins, which has an untold charm.

"Journeying from the west, the traveller will come in sight of the city about a mile from the gates, where it presents its least imposing aspect—merely a dull line of wall, with the Mount of Olives rising above. He will, perhaps, have read of the desolate appearance of the neighbourhood of the city: it is sometimes said to resemble a city of the dead. Travellers who have so written, must have been singularly unfortunate in the time of the year; nothing can well be imagined more lively than the scene without the Jaffa Gate. It is then that the inhabitants, of whatever nation and whatever faith, walk out 'to drink the air,' as they express it; and the various companies may be seen sauntering about, or reclining on the ground. The appearance of the females, indeed, is somewhat spectral, for a white sheet thrown loosely over their handsome dresses, and their yellow boots, is all that is distinguishable; but the merry laugh may be heard among them, and, with the music of their 'tinkling ornaments,' would serve to convince the stranger that they were veritable daughters of Eve. He will see little of the desolation of Jerusalem here: but let him enter the gates, and the delusion which its compact and well-built walls, and the appearance of its inhabitants, may have produced, will be quickly dispelled.

"He no sooner enters the city than desolation stares him in the face. The citadel on his right hand, which shewed fair from a distance, is a ruin and patchwork—a Roman tower, with mediæval additions and Turkish debasements, erected on a massive foundation of Jewish architecture. On his left he will have an open space covered with ruins; and as he passes through the streets he will find scarcely a house that is not a ruin, and in some parts huge hulks of massive wrecks; as, for example, the Hospital of the Knights of St. John, and the so-called Palace of Helena. But, indeed, this may be said of almost any eastern city. It is the

peculiar province of the Turks to lay waste what other ages have built up. But let him examine more closely: he will find traces of former greatness, and even grandeur, here and there, handsome Saracenic fountains, now dry; some few traces of gothic architecture, more of Roman, and here and there fragments of a Greek cornice or capital, lying neglected on the side of the street, or built into modern hovels, without any regard to their proper position; and shafts of columns of costly marbles jutting out from the walls in various parts, all attesting its greatness. Or let him repair to any spot near the walls, where excavations may perchance be carrying on for the erection of a new building; and he will see, many feet below the present surface of the ground, massive stones tossed about in the wildest confusion, and rubble to the depth of forty feet on the summit of the hills, and of untold depth in the valleys beneath; and he will easily believe that he is in the oldest city in the world, which has undergone more vicissitudes than any other in the annals of history."[1]

[1] Williams's Holy City, ii. ch. vi. p. 526, sqq. In reference to the huge size of the blocks of stone found in the ruins below the city wall and other foundations, the following passage of Dr. Robinson is important:—

"Allusion has already been made to the immense size of the stones which compose, in part, the external walls of the enclosure of the mosque. The upper part of these walls is obviously of modern origin; but to the most casual observer it cannot be less obvious, that these huge blocks, which appear only in portions of the lower part, are to be referred to an earlier date. The appearance of the walls in almost every part seems to indicate that they have been built upon ancient foundations, as if an ancient and far more massive wall had been thrown down, and in later times a new one erected on its remains. Hence the line between these lower antique portions and the modern ones above them is very irregular, though it is also very distinct. The former, in some parts, are much higher than in others; and occasionally the breaches in them are filled out with later patchwork. Sometimes, too, the whole wall is modern. It is not, however, the great size of these stones alone, which arrests the attention of the beholder, but the

I shall not enter upon the disputed question relative to the sites of particular buildings traditionally connected with our Lord's doings and sufferings on earth. It is perhaps unkind, certainly profitless, to seek to cast uncertainty upon the yearnings of pious spirits to catch some relic of their Redeemer's memory, while our limits prevent the least approach to a fair statement of contending opinions. Before, however, returning to a subject more closely connected with the purpose of this volume, namely, the present political condition and probable prospects of the Jews, a notice of one or two of the most interesting localities will be expected.

The church, or rather collection of churches, of the Holy Sepulchre, has received extensive examination, both architectural and historical, from the Rev. R.

manner in which they are hewn gives them also a peculiar character. In common parlance, they are said to be levelled; which here means, that, after the whole face has been hewn and squared, a narrow strip along the edges is cut down a quarter or half an inch lower than the rest of the surface. When these levelled stones are laid up in a wall, the face of it of course exhibits lines or grooves formed by these depressed edges at their junction, marking more distinctly the elevation of the different courses, as well as the length of the stones of which they are composed. The face of the wall has then the appearance of many panels. The smaller stones in other parts of the walls are frequently levelled in like manner; except that in these only the level or strip along the edge is cut smooth, while the remainder of the surface is merely broken off or rough hewn. In the upper parts of the wall, which are obviously the most modern, the stones are small, and are not levelled. At the first view of these walls, I was led to the persuasion that the lower portion had belonged to the ancient temple; and every subsequent visit only served to strengthen this conviction. The size of the stones, and the heterogeneous character of the walls, render it a matter beyond all doubt, that the former were never laid in their present places by the Mahometans; and the peculiar form in which they are hewn does not properly belong, so far as I know, either to Saracenic or to Roman architecture; indeed, everything seems to point to a Jewish origin, and a discovery, which we made in the course of our examination, reduces this hypothesis to an absolute certainty."

Willis,[1] who has remarked, that, although it has been ravaged and destroyed upon many occasions, yet "the destruction of a complex mass of building, like the one in question, is by no means easy: nor is it ever effected by a hostile force, so as to obliterate the foundations, for the ruins of the vaults and walls necessarily protect the lower part of the buildings. . . . . Hence, the original plan of the buildings can never be lost under such circumstances, although it may be departed from during the rebuilding."

"The church, in its general plan, may be described as a Romanesque cruciform structure, having a circular nave to the west, a north and south transept, and a short eastern limb or choir terminated by an apse. An aisle runs round the circular nave on three of its sides. Also, there is an aisle at the end of each transept, and on the east and west sides of each transept; and an aisle passes round the apse, and has chapels radiating from it in the usual manner. Projecting from the east end, but lying to the south of the central line of the edifice, is a chapel, termed the chapel of St. Helena. The eastern aisle of the south transept is occupied by chapels in two floors, the upper floor having the chapel of the Crucifixion. The principal, and at present the only, entrance to the church is at the south point of this southern transept. Moreover, the triforium of the church is an entire floor, extending over the whole of the side aisles; and was, on its first completion, accessible from one end to the other, and, indeed, all round the church; but was subsequently obstructed by party walls, erected for the accommodation of some of the various sects who have divided the church amongst them. The circular nave or rotunda was wholly erected with circular arches, but the eastern part of the church with pointed arches; having, however, round arches in the windows, according to the usual practice at the early period of the pointed style."[2]

[1] In Williams, ii. p. 129, sqq. [2] Ibid. p. 138.

So much for the general idea of the structure. The following sketch, by Castlereagh, is highly characteristic of the present condition of the interior, and its associations:—

"The entrance is highly picturesque, but the interior at first disappointed us. The sepulchre stands under a dome, the arches of which are dilapidated, and the ornaments fading and decayed. The sepulchre is marble, resembling a vast sarcophagus, of a pale red colour. It rises from the floor nearly forty feet. Immediately opposite is the entrance to the Greek church, with its high altar, covered with gilding and most gorgeous ornaments; on either side extend the aisles. The sepulchre stands alone under the dome, which would appear like a vestibule to the other churches attached to it.

"The Latin church is in another division of the building, as is the Armenian. But here it would appear the Greeks are masters, and the richness of their embellishments places everything else in the shade. There is little difference in the so-called Holy Sepulchre as to its interior, from others we have seen. It contains an altar of marble, supposed to cover the stone of the tomb, a bad picture, and a profusion of ornaments.

"I walked round the church, and visited the spots reputed sacred by the monks, such as the place where the holy cross was found, and the portion of the ground upon which the Saviour's garments were parted asunder; and finally ascended a flight of stairs to Mount Calvary, which occupies a gallery of the church. A richly-ornamented chapel, covered with gilded ornaments and lamps, contains a large crucifix, with figures of the Virgin and Mary Magdalen on each side. Our guide was much more anxious to set forth the riches of his own convent, and depreciate the Greeks, than to call our minds to the sanctity of the spot; and pointed out the burning lamps before the various altars, the shreds and patches of old silk or tapestried hang-

ings in each, saying, 'This is Greek—this is ours—that is Latin,' till I was heartily tired of the whole scene."[1]

This church has long been the scene of many a sad mockery misnamed religion, and of impostures for which even superstition furnishes but insufficient apology. Among these, that of the holy fire "has been practised for centuries by the highest dignitaries of all the Christian communities in Jerusalem, though it is now confined to the Greeks and Armenians."[2] Bernard the Wise, (about A.D. 867) observes:—

"I must not omit to state, that on Holy Saturday, which is the eve of Easter, the office is begun in the morning in this church, and after it is ended the Kynie Eleison is chanted, until an angel comes and lights the lamps which hang over the aforesaid sepulchre; of which light the patriarch gives their shares to the bishops and to the rest of the people, that each may illuminate his own house."[3]

Two more extracts must complete our notices connected with the Jewish topography, the one claiming interest as describing the memorial of Abraham, the great founder of that nation's glory. Benjamin of Tudela (about A.D. 1163), describing the modern town of Hebron, now situated in the field of Machpelah, proceeds thus:—

"Here is the large place of worship called St. Abraham, which during the time of the Mohammedans was a synagogue. The Gentiles have erected six sepulchres in this place, which they pretend to be those of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebecca, and of Jacob and Leah; the pilgrims are told that they are the sepulchres of the fathers, and money is extorted from them. But if any Jew come, who gives an additional fee to the keeper of the cave, an iron door is opened, which dates from the time of our forefathers who rest in peace, and with a burning candle

[1] ii. p. 127, sqq.
[2] Williams, ii. p. 533.
[3] Early Travels in Palestine, p. 27, where see Wright's note.

in his hands, the visitor descends into a first cave, which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third, which contains six sepulchres, those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, one opposite the other. All these sepulchres bear inscriptions, the letters being engraved: thus upon that of Abraham we read, 'This is the sepulchre of our father Abraham, upon whom be peace;' and so on that of Isaac and upon all the other sepulchres; a lamp burns in the cave and upon the sepulchres continually both night and day; and you there see tubs filled with the bones of Israelites; for unto this day it is a custom of the house of Israel to bring thither the bones of their relicts and of their forefathers, and to leave them there. On the confines of the field of Machpelah stands the house of our father Abraham, who rests in peace; before which house there is a spring, and, out of respect to Abraham, nobody is allowed to construct any building on that."[1]

Castlereagh's description of Mount Zion forms a characteristic conclusion to this part of our sketch of Jerusalem:—

"Nothing can surpass the beauty of this prospect; yet, as it is gazed upon, a sense of desolation oppresses the mind, recalling, at every moment, the contrast of what Zion was in her palmy days, with her present state. The hills above and around her were probably covered by the blooming fig-tree, and rich with the spreading tendrils of the vine. The rocks, now barren and blasted, were then, perhaps, shaded by thick groves, or adorned with terraces and gardens. Peace was within her walls, and plenteousness in her palaces. Now they are alike profaned by the insolent Mahometan and the rapacious Bedouin, and desecrated by false creeds, whether Greek, Latin, or Armenian. The walls, within and without, are covered with shame; not even one solitary cross as yet glitters among her pinnacles. The crescent alone, in haughty derision,

[1] Early Travels, &c. i. p. 86, sq.

raises its horns to the sky, over that land where our Saviour lived, taught, and died; where Judah flourished, sinned, and was cast down. Here, at this hour, rival ministers of various sects, promulgate their doctrines even upon the holiest ground, with frantic violence and infuriate jealousy, in the land favoured by the actual presence of the Almighty, and pointed out as the scene of the great consummation of all things, when He shall gather all nations and bring them down into the valley of decision."[1]

And now comes the question, fraught with so much matter for solemn contemplation, with anxieties that faith and hope alone can withstand, and with difficulties to which no human sagacity can discern an end. Will Jerusalem ever again become a favoured spot? Will the efforts of the infidel, curbed by the progress of good feeling and useful enlightenment, not by the sword wielded by fanaticism, leave the "city of peace" to her own proper inhabitants, and will the sunshine of Christian truth play along her turrets, and lighten up the hearts of Israel's lost sheep? Have we reasons for such an hope? If so, what are these reasons, and from what principles of the human heart, from what practical evidences of historical experience are they derived?

God never forsakes his creatures, and this is a grand fact which mankind are wont to confess in spite of themselves. Even though Jerusalem lies under the self-imprecated curse with which their children were attainted by the awful transgression of their parents, the words of prophecy bid the Jews look forward to better times, when God shall again "lead captivity captive," and bring back his stray sheep to the fold in which one Shepherd shall unite them with all the mul-

[1] ii. p. 137, describing the views in the neighbourhood of the valley of Jehoshaphat. He further remarks that "it is the tradition among the Mahometans that their prophet is to judge the world on this spot, sitting upon a rock in the space now occupied by the Mosque of Omar," in accordance with the declaration of ancient prophecy.

titude of the nations of the earth. For does not the Almighty say: "whenever thou shalt return unto the Lord our God, thou and thy children, and shalt obey his voice with all thine heart, and with all thy soul; then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations whither he hath scattered thee. If any of thine be driven out unto the utmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee: and he will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it; and he will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers."[1]

The gracious promises of this prophecy, so often reiterated in other terms,[2] derive an additional force from the fixed belief entertained by the Jews themselves:—

"Nowhere," says Buchanan, who had seen them in the most distant regions,—"nowhere do they despair of returning to their country, and beholding their promised Messiah." And again: "I have had many interesting conferences with the Jews, on the subject of their present state; and have been much struck

[1] On this passage, Dean Graves (whose kindly and just view of the condition of the Jews in modern times, renders him an important authority on the subject) observes,—"In this prediction we perceive the clearest declaration that the house of Israel is never to be excluded from the peculiar protection of Providence, never irrevocably to forfeit the privileges secured to them in the original covenant with their great ancestor, but is to be for ever preserved a distinct people, and that, however dispersed, whenever they returned to their God, they would certainly be restored to his favour, and, as a nation, re-established in their country. And it is not obscurely intimated that a period would come, when such a restoration from a wide-spread dispersion would take place, attended with a general conversion to sincere and vital religion, and a consequent enjoyment of national prosperity far exceeding, both in degree and duration, any they had ever before experienced."—On the Pentateuch, p. 424.

[2] Graves (l. c.) compares Is. xi. 10-16 (see his note, p. 425); lx. 8-10; xliii. 13-16; liv. 7-11; Hos. iii. 4, sq. &c.

with two circumstances, their constant reference to the desolation of Jerusalem, and their confident hope that it will be one day rebuilt. The desolation of the Holy City is ever present in the minds of the Jews, when the subject is concerning themselves as a nation; for, though without a king and without a country, they constantly speak of the unity of their nation. Distance of time and place seems to have no effect in obliterating the remembrance of the desolation. I often thought of the verse in the Psalms, 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.' They speak of Palestine as being close at hand, and easily accessible. It is become an ordinance of the Rabbins in some places, that, when a man builds a new house, he shall leave a small part of it unfinished, as an emblem of ruin, and write on it these words, 'Zecher Lachorchan,' *i.e.*, 'in memory of the desolation.'"[1]

Nor is this feeliug the only confirmation of a belief that brighter days are yet in store for this outcast and persecuted race. The permanency of the existence of this nation during tribulations which have annihilated whole kingdoms in an infinitely shorter space of time, is an eloquent evidence, little short of absolute demonstration, that the Jews have been preserved by the finger of God unto a season of future hopefulness:—

"We have beheld," says Basnage, "the greatest prodigy, in the preservation of the Jewish nation in despite of all the calamities it has sustained for 1700 years; we here see a church, which has been hated and persecuted for 1700 years, still subsisting and numerous; kings have often employed the severity of edicts, and the hands of the executioner, to destroy it; the seditious multitude has perpetrated massacres and persecutions infinitely more tragical than the princes; both kings and people, heathens, Christians, and Mahometans, however opposite in other points, have united in the design of ruining this nation, and have not effected it. The bush of Moses, surrounded by flames,

[1] Christian Researches, p. 212, quoted by Graves.

has always burned without consuming. Dispersed through all parts of the civilized world; driven from or persecuted wherever they have appeared, they have from age to age endured misery and persecution, and waded through torrents of their own blood; yet they still exist, in spite of the disgrace, and hatred, and suffering, which attend them; while there remains nothing of the greatest monarchies antecedent to the era of their destruction but the name."[1]

No less characteristic and convincing is the earnest language of a modern Jew on this subject. Dean Graves, whose moderate and judicious remarks on the present subject have formed the basis of our own, gives the following extract from a tract cited in the transactions of the Sanhedrim assembled at Paris by order of Buonaparte:[2]—

"The author," says Graves, "after describing, in all the pathos of eloquence, the sufferings of his nation, by persecution, extortion, calumny, the pious rage of the crusaders, the general fury of prejudice and intolerance; after declaring, that it seems as if they were allowed to survive the destruction of their country, only to see the most odious imputations laid to their charge; to stand as the constant object of the grossest and most shocking injustice, as a mark for the insulting finger of scorn, as a sport to the most inveterate hatred: he asks, 'What is our guilt? Is it that generous constancy which we have manifested in defending the laws of our fathers? But this constancy ought to have entitled us to the admiration of all nations; and it has only sharpened against us the daggers of persecution. Braving all kinds of torments, the pangs of death, and the still more terrible pangs of life, we alone have withstood the impetuous torrents of time, sweeping indiscriminately in its course nations, religions, and countries. What is become of those celebrated empires,

[1] Book vi. ch. i. § 1.

[2] It is entitled "An Appeal to the Justice of Kings and *Nations*."

whose very name still excites our admiration, by the ideas of splendid greatness attached to them, and whose power controlled the whole surface of the known globe? They are only remembered as monuments of the vanity of human greatness. Rome and Greece are no more! their descendants, mixed with other nations, have lost even the traces of their origin; while a population of a few millions of men, so often subjugated, stands the test of three thousand years, and the fiery ordeal of fifteen centuries of persecution. We still preserve laws, which were given us in the first days of the world, in the infancy of nature! The last followers of that heathen religion which had embraced the universe have disappeared these fifteen centuries, and our temples are still standing! We alone have been spared by the indiscriminating hand of time, like a column left standing amidst the wreck of worlds, and the ruins of nature. The history of our nation connects the present times with the first ages of the world, by the testimony which it gives of the existence of these early periods: it begins at the cradle of mankind, and its remnants are likely to be preserved to the day of universal destruction."

Whether the ban will ever be completely removed from this glorious, yet sinful and degraded nation, is a problem that lies as yet unravelled in the womb of time. But the feeling in favour of the Jews is on the increase, and recent events seem to declare a conviction of the folly of excluding efficient Jews from public office, because the tenets of their creed render them incapable of taking an oath, which is practically broken by half its nominal professors. At the same time, it is by charitable teaching, not by ill-judged concessions in vital points of Christianity,—it is by exerting the true influences of Christianity, not by reducing her creeds to a convenient standard of uncertainty,—that the Jew is to be reclaimed to the great human family. The days of religious persecution are no more, the dishonoured memories of the persecutors defile the page of the his-

torian; but, in the sound mind, they excite nought but sad and half-despairing thoughts touching the future lives of those who "did evil that good might come," who oftentimes rooted up the good corn with the tares, who sought to do the work of the Almighty with the implements of the Devil.

Commercial enterprise, enthusiastic energy in the pursuit of gain, may attaint the name of Jew with an oft well-founded charge of avarice; but, on the other hand, a thousand acts of munificent charity, unswayed even by the bigotry of heresy, ennoble the prerogative of these scattered children of the earth. And how shall we brand with insignificance the birth of those, before whose God-ennobled aristocracy our own becomes recent and conventional? While Herald's College is poring over doubtful heaps of more doubtful papers; whilst the pedigree-hunter is seeking for some faint, hair-drawn line of connection with some profligate freebooter of the middle ages, the Jew points to the Scriptures as his genealogical tree, and traces, often with a clearness amounting to certainty,[1] his direct lineage from the "Father of the Faithful."

Let us, with a devout and heartfelt hope that the Holy City may eventually become a conspicuous seat of the glorification of Him whom it once reviled, conclude with the words of the prophet-king:—"Pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes, I will now say, Peace be within thee. Because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good."[2]

[1] I need scarcely observe that the Jewish law, forbidding intermarriage with other nations, has been the main cause of this.

[2] Ps. cxxii. 6, sqq.

SMYRNA.

HAD the sites of the "seven churches" presented, either in their remains or their history, equal matter of interest, I should have united them together in one chapter; but, since the materials for the description of some of them are meagre and insufficient, I have preferred treating separately of a few of the most distinguished.

The origin of Smyrna is replete with the same uncertainty of tradition that involves the early history of other nations in obscurity. Tantalus, the son of Jove, whose punishment has given rise to one of our most trite proverbial phrases, is the mythical founder of this city. The wealth and commercial influence of the ancestors of Agamemnon will be noticed when we come to speak of Mycenæ, but their connection with Smyrna is too limited and doubtful to require our attention here.

Up to the time of Alexander the Great,[1] Smyrna, which had been destroyed by the Lydians, lay waste and desolate; but it was rebuilt, and under the earlier Roman emperors it was regarded as one of the finest cities of Asia. It was at this period, when it was at the height of prosperity—when its inhabitants were enjoying the vicious pleasures for which their ill-directed industry and enterprise had furnished the means—that St. John[2] addressed the Christian Church at Smyrna,

[1] Or Antigonus, according to Strabo.

[2] Rev. ii. 8, sqq. From the epistles attributed to St. Ignatius (ad. Smyrn. p. 222, sqq., ed. Hefele.), it, however, seems probable that the heresy of the Docetæ, or those who denied the real passion of Christ, had gained some influence at Smyrna.

but his words furnish little clew to the character of the Smyrnæans as a people. There is, however, great reason to believe that, whatever may have been the vices of the Smyrnæans, they evinced a ready and receptive spirit towards Christianity.

In A. D. 177, it was destroyed by an earthquake; and though Marcus Aurelius rebuilt it on a grander scale of splendour than before, it was continually exposed to the ravages of earthquakes and conflagrations, and gradually declined from its ancient importance and prosperity.

In considering the magnificence of this city in its ancient condition, we have one important difficulty to contend with. Convulsions of nature have rent asunder the site upon which it stands, and have led to consequent removals, calculated to obliterate its earlier boundaries. Again, although "few of the Ionian churches have furnished more relics of antiquity than Smyrna; the convenience of transporting them, with the number of investigators, have exhausted the mine; it is therefore not at all wonderful that of the porticoes and temples the very ruins have vanished; and it is now extremely difficult to determine the sites of any of the ancient buildings, with the exception of the stadium, the theatre, and the temple of Jupiter Acræus, which was within the Acropolis."[1]

A recent writer on British India,[2] who has visited the interesting locality of the seven churches, has described the present appearance of these early scenes of the Gospel progress in a manner happily blending classic associations with the more solemn recollections to which they must naturally give rise. We cannot do better than proceed in his own words:—

"The first of the churches to which my journeying led me, and which had been one of the most important of the seven was Smyrna. The peculiar felicity of the

[1] Arundell, Discoveries in Asia Minor, ii. p. 407.

[2] Mr. Macfarlane, "The Seven Apocalyptic Churches," p. 8, sqq.

situation of this place still retains, and seems always to have retained, a certain degree of commerce, and its natural consequences, population and prosperity. But these are merely comparative, and to exalt Smyrna she must be compared with the present depopulated, wretched condition of the districts that surround her, and not to herself or to the cities of her neighbourhood at the period preceding the date of the awful prediction of her ruin. At the more ancient epoch referred to, Smyrna was the admiration of a most ingenious people, who possessed the fine arts in a perfection we have still to see equalled; her lofty Acropolis bore whole quarries of marble on its proud brow; temples and stoas, theatres and a library covered the bold sides of the hill, facing the clear deep bay, a fitting mirror for so much grace and beauty; her crowded but elegant houses descend in gentle parapets from the heights of Mount Pagus, and stretched to the banks of the sacred Meles; whilst far beyond, an avenue of temples and tombs, villas and baths, extended in the direction of a modern village, called Bournibat; in short, ancient description, the glorious site of the place as we now see it, and the beauty that remains of sculpture and building occasionally discovered, combine to justify the high titles with which she was honoured, and to prove that Smyrna was indeed 'the lovely, the crown of Ionia, the ornament of Asia.' Now, compared to this, what I saw did not seem of a character in the teeth of prophecy. Her Acropolis was bare, or only marked by the walls, with many a yawning fissure between them; of the ancient fortifications, of temples, or other edifices of taste or grandeur, were there none; the Turkish houses, that seemed sliding down the hill, were mean, filthy, and tasteless: and every here and there an open space with smoked and blackened walls around it, gave evidence of recent conflagration; narrow and dirty streets led me to the Meles, the sacred and Homer's own river, according to Smyrnæan tradition; and I

found the stream foul and wholly insignificant; the avenue beyond it could merely be traced by the occasional obtrusion of a block of marble, or the base of a wall, which, indifferent to their ancient destination, the indolent Turks used as stepping-stones to mount their horses. The only buildings were the Mahometan mosques; and the voices of the Muerrins from their minarets seemed to proclaim the triumph of the crescent over the cross, and to boast of the abasement of the church of Christ in one of its high places." The Christians, divided by heresies and feuds, were merely tolerated on the spot where the church had been all triumphant, and the Greek, the Catholic, and the Armenian offered up their devotions in narrow temples, that were fain to hide their diminished heads. It required the skill of an antiquary to trace the walls of the church on the side of Mount Pagus, where Saint Polycarp and others suffered martyrdom. Nobody attempted to shew me the site of the original metropolitan temple, but every step I took offered me evidence of that destruction and humiliation foretold by the inspired writer. An infidel barbarous race, the Turks, whose existence was not even known in the days of the prophecy, were masters or tyrants of the fair country; and the wealth and prosperity of Smyrna, or the small portion of them that remained, had passed into the hands of foreign trades—some of them from countries considered in a state of unimproveable barbarity, or altogether unknown, when the prediction was uttered—for English, Dutch, and Armenians were the most influential of the number. The red hand of the Osmanlis had very lately waved over the devoted city, and if slaughter had ceased, a pestilential fever, engendered by the putrid waters and filth about the town, daily thinned its inhabitants. The productions of art, of the pencil or chisel, were looked for in vain in Smyrna, that had been art's emporium—in Smyrna, whose ancient coins and medals, and other exquisite fragments, have partially furnished half of the numerous

cabinets of Europe. The voice of music was mute, the converse of philosophy was no more heard, and of a certainty, Smyrna was in the days of tribulation with which she had been threatened."

EPHESUS.

I WILL not entertain my readers with the romantic deeds and legends of the Amazons, who possess the mythical claim to be the founders of the old capital of Ionia. Situated on the banks of the Caÿster, not far from the coast of the Icarian sea, between the flourishing city-states of Smyrna and Miletus, it at an early period acquired a position second to none of the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

The classical celebrity of this city is, however, mainly owing to the fame of its temple of Diana, and for the enthusiasm and magnificence with which, up to a very late period, the worship of that goddess was celebrated. Such was this temple, that, in the opinion of the cherished poet of Ptolemy's court, "the morn shall behold nought more divine or sumptuous; yea, it might even surpass the shrine of Pythian Apollo."[1]

One of those characteristic stories, which served to eke out the confused notions of mythology with something like a sprinkling of probability, and at the same time to foster human vanity, and to accommodate the oversight of the deities to a supposed complaisance towards the pride of mankind, is amusingly mixed up with the fate of this structure. On the night that the Macedonian conqueror first saw light, the temple of Diana, which had been one of the marvels of ancient magnificence, was totally destroyed by fire. The incendiary was an obscure individual, Eratostratus by name, who

[1] Callimachus, in Sian. 248, sq.:—
—τοῦ δ' οὔ τι θεώτερον ὄψεται ἠὼς
Οὐδ' ἀφνειότερον, ῥία κεν Πυθῶνα παρίλθοι.
Cf. Dionys. Perieg. v. 820, sqq.

thus sought to earn a notoriety which no better deeds would have realized. To excuse the apparent neglect of the goddess, it was given out that Diana, in her capacity of the midwife-goddess, was too much occupied in ushering Alexander the Great into the world to be able to take care of her favourite shrine. At a subsequent period, the conqueror offered to rebuild the whole structure, on condition of being allowed to inscribe his name on the front; but the inhabitants—perhaps actuated by the same feeling which led the Tyrians to refuse Alexander an entrance into their city for the purpose of sacrificing to Hercules—declined the offer. They, however, succeeded in erecting a structure rivalling the former one in magnificence—a magnificence to which the whole of the states of Asia Minor contributed. Two hundred and twenty years were occupied in this grand work of superstitious enthusiasm, and the original architect is said to have received divine encouragement from the goddess, when he was well nigh driven to suicide by the difficulties of the undertaking.

In considering the greatness of Ephesus, her high claims to skill for the refinements and taste for the arts of life cannot be denied, although there is little reason to believe that she ever possessed an original school of art, or sought to elevate the character of the inhabitants above the standard of an artificial and pleasure-seeking disposition. They doubtless possessed many features in common with the Alexandrians, amongst which a taste for mystical religion, and for the idle impositions of magic, are among their least creditable points of resemblance. The burning of the books[1] of magic, recorded by the pen of St. Luke, was, however, a powerful evidence of their capability for receiving the truths of Christianity, and abandoning the paraphernalia of idolatry.

If, however, we consider the number of adventurers who, in all ages, and at no period more than on that occasion when the Truth himself had shone forth to

[1] Acts xix. 19.

dissipate the clouds of error which hung over the heads of offending, suffering humanity—if we reflect upon the pretended skill in such arts attributed to Solomon, and claimed as derived from him by a set of speculative Jews, who had leavened the Law with the corrupt practices of Paganism—it will appear highly probable that an under-current of political manœuvring may have been mixed up with the principles that raised the cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians,"[1] and raised so formidable an opposition to the hitherto successful preaching of Paul.

The "Ephesian letters" appear to me to have been certain masonic signs connected with this underhand system of politics, as well as charms or amulets designed to impose upon the idle superstition of the vulgar. Amusing stories have been told respecting their efficacy, as, for instance, that when a Milesian and an Ephesian were wrestling in the Olympic games, the former could gain no advantage, till he deprived his adversary of some of these charms, which he wore bound round his head.

Despite, however, its lamentable superstitions and childish enthusiasm in favour of a mistaken worship, we cannot rob Ephesus of the glory of having given birth to two artists, whose names must live as long as the history of art excites any interest—Apelles and Parrhasius. I will not repeat the trite stories respecting the tact with which these painters rivalled each other's powers of imitation, nor will I seek to throw discredit upon what appear to have been merely ingenious feats of sleight of hand; I will merely observe that we know too little about ancient Greek painting of that period, to have any right to express an opinion on the subject.

But whatever may have been the ability and wealth of the Ephesians of old, their present condition presents

[1] Ibid. 24, sqq. Others have supposed that this outbreak resulted from the fact that Demetrius apprehended losing his trade in making images of the goddess. Such a reason could *scarcely have* influenced all.

nothing but a contrast as painful as that which grieves the student of Pagan splendour in every quarter of the known world. "The inhabitants," says Chandler, "are a few Greek peasants, living in extreme wretchedness, dependence, and insensibility—the representative of an illustrious people, and inhabiting the wreck of their greatness; some the substructure of the glorious edifices which they raised; some beneath the vaults of the stadium, once the crowded scene of their diversions; and some in the abrupt precipice, in the sepulchres which received their ashes. Its streets are obscured and overgrown. A herd of goats was driven to it for shelter from the sun at noon; and a noisy flight of crows from the quarries seemed to insult its silence. We heard the partridge call in the area of the theatre and the stadium. The pomp of its heathen worship is no longer remembered; and Christianity, which was there nursed by the apostles, and fostered by general Councils, until it increased to fulness of stature, lingers on in an existence hardly visible."[1]

But if the condition of the inhabitants is desolate, how much more desolate is the picture presented by the ruins of its buildings! Arundell,[2] whose Christian-like and tasteful observations on the seven churches have deservedly attracted the notice of the best judges of this department of topographical history, sums up the present state of the great city of Diana in the following melancholy and reflective terms:—

"What would have been the astonishment and grief of the beloved Apostle and Timothy, if they could have foreseen that a time would come when there would be in Ephesus neither angel, nor church, nor city—when the great city would become 'heaps, a desolation, and a dry land, and a wilderness; a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby.' Once it had an idolatrous temple,

[1] Travels, p. 150.
[2] Quoted by Macfarlane, Seven Churches, p. 52, seqq.

celebrated for its magnificence, as one of the wonders of the world; and the mountains of Cöressus and Prion re-echoed the shouts of ten thousand, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' Once it had Christian temples, almost rivalling the Pagan in splendour, wherein the image that fell from Jupiter lay prostrate before the cross, and as many tongues, moved by the Holy Ghost, made public avowal that 'Great is the Lord Jesus!' Once it had a bishop, the angel of the Church, Timothy, the disciple of St. John; and tradition reports, that it was honoured with the last days of both these great men, and the mother of our Lord."

"Some centuries passed on, and the altars of Jesus were again thrown down to make way for the delusions of Mahomet; the cross is removed from the dome of the church, and the crescent glitters in its stead, while within, the kèblé is substituted for the altar."

"A few years more, and all may be silence in the mosque and the church. A few unintelligible heaps of stones, with some mud cottages untenanted, are all the remains of the great city of the Ephesians. The busy hum of a mighty population is silent in death. 'Thy riches and thy fairs, thy merchandise, thy mariners, and thy pilots, thy caulkers, and the occupiers of thy merchandise, and all thy men of war, are fallen.' Even the sea has retired from the scene of desolation, and a pestilential morass, with mud and rushes, has succeeded to the waters which brought up the ships laden with merchandize from every country."

No less feeling is the following passage of Gibbon:—"In the general calamities of mankind, the death of an individual, however exalted, the ruin of an edifice, however famous, are passed over with careless inattention. Yet we cannot forget that the temple of Diana at Ephesus, after having risen with increasing splendour from seven repeated misfortunes, was finally burnt by the Goths in the third naval invasion. In *the third* century, the arts of Greece, and the wealth

of Asia, had conspired to erect that sacred and magnificent structure. It was supported by a hundred and twenty-seven marble columns of the Ionic order. They were the gift of devout monarchs, and each was sixty feet high. The altar was adorned with the masterly sculptures of Praxiteles, who had, perhaps, selected from the favourite legends of the place, the birth of the divine children of Latona, the concealment of Apollo after the slaughter of the Cyclops, and the clemency of Bacchus to the vanquished Amazons; yet the length of the temple of Ephesus was only four hundred and twenty-five feet, about two-thirds of the measure of St. Peter's at Rome. In the dimensions, it was still more inferior to that sublime production of modern architecture. The spreading arms of a Christian cross require a much greater breadth than the oblong temples of the Pagans; and the boldest artists of antiquity would have been startled at the proposal of raising in the air a dome of the size and proportions of the Pantheon. The temple of Diana was, however, admired, as one of the wonders of the world. Successive empires, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman, had revered its sanctity and enriched its splendour. But the rude savages of the Baltic were destitute of a taste for the elegant arts, and they despised the ideal terrors of a foreign superstition."[1]

Thus, then, is this scene of Christian development laid bare and desolate; thus is her glory departed, and, to conclude in the words of an excellent writer[2] of modern times, "however much the church at Ephesus may, in its earliest days, have merited praise for its 'works, labour, and patience,'[3] yet it appears soon to have 'left its first love,' and to have received in vain the admonition—'remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen, and repent and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou

[1] In Macfarlane, ibid.
[2] J. R. Beard, in Kitto, i. p. 642.
[3] Rev. ii. 2.

repent.' If any repentance was produced by this solemn warning, its effects were not durable, and the place has long since offered an evidence of the truth of prophecy, and the certainty of the Divine threatenings, as well as a melancholy subject for thought to the contemplative Christian. Its fate is that of the once flourishing seven churches of Asia: its fate is that of the entire country—a garden has become a desert. Busy centres of civilization, spots where the refinements and delights of the age were collected, are now a prey to silence, destruction, and death. Consecrated first of all to the purposes of idolatry, Ephesus next had Christian temples almost rivalling the pagan in splendour, wherein the image of the great Diana lay prostrate before the cross; and, after the lapse of some centuries, Jesus gives place to Mahomed, and the crescent glittered on the dome of the recently Christian church. A few more scores of years, and Ephesus has neither, temple, cross, crescent, nor city, but is a 'desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness.' Even the sea has retired from the scene of devastation, and a pestilential morass, covered with mud and rushes, has succeeded to the waters which brought up ships laden with merchandize from every part of the known world."

SARDIS.

GREAT as were the sins which debased the lively and earnest dispositions of the Ephesians, severe as was the punishment which has been gradually worked out in the extirpation and casting down of the monuments of exploded idolatry, and in the substitution of a mixed population, in a state of poverty and ignorance, for the elegant and tasteful Ionians of old—the same important lessons are drawn in stronger colours in the ruins which adorn the miserable village of Sait, which cover the site of the capital of Crœsus, of that king whose vanity suffered so heavy a correction in the fearful vicissitudes which formed the melancholy conclusion of the prosperity in which he had so haughtily trusted.

Had Solon, or whoever it was that bade the proud king of Lydia await the end of life before he judged of its good fortune, lived to behold the scattered remnants of the almost impregnable treasure-city, which remain to this day, he would have marvelled at the wondrous illustration of the uncertain prosperity of states as of princes. Despite the romance with which the artless narrative of Herodotus is invested, and although even chronology tends to cast a doubt upon the whole story, so thoroughly is the conversation of the Lydian monarch with the Athenian sage realized in what we now behold of Sardis, that we must fain wish to believe it, even where we are bound to doubt.

Long and spirited was the resistance which the then hardy Lydians opposed to the intrepid and determined onslaught of Cyrus. Enormous wealth, which had from the days of Gyges been proverbial, had made it a fitting object of cupidity to the successful revolutionist who had ousted his grandfather, Astyages, from the

Median throne. Its situation at the foot of Mount Tmolus, in a beautiful plain watered by the golden stream of Pactolus, gave it all the charms of local interest, and it would have made a fitting royal residence even for the monarch of the wide Persian estate.

Sardis is pre-eminently interesting as the cause of the first Persian war against the Greeks. Heeren has well described this as the "grand object of common interest that was wanting" to prevent the consequences of the mutual jealousies of Athens, Sparta, and the other larger Grecian states. "Although," he continues, "this did not produce that union of the whole Greek nation, which a great man had conceived, without believing in its possibility, yet the whole condition of Greece in succeeding ages, her foreign and domestic relations, were all a consequence of it; and we do not say too much when we assert, that by it the political character of Greece was formed."[1]

The surprise of Sardis by the Ionians, under Aristogoras, and its subsequent destruction by an accidental fire, proved the grand provocative to the Persian power, and the destruction of the temple of Cybélé was afterwards made a pretext for violating and firing the shrines of the gods of Greece, when the Persians were as yet unrepressed in their victorious progress. But although the Athenians afterwards abandoned the Ionians, and refused to send them succour, Darius took little notice of the Ionians, when he heard of the destruction of Sardis, but having taken a bow and arrows, he let fly a shaft towards heaven, exclaiming, "O Jove, grant that I may revenge myself on the Athenians!" And lest he should forget the reprisals he hoped to make, a favourite attendant was desired, every time dinner was set before him, to say three times, "Sire, remember the Athenians."[2]

[1] Heeren, Greece, ch. viii. p. 123, sq.

[2] Herodot. v. 100-5. Most of my readers will recollect old Cato's "delenda est Carthago," so often inculcated upon his Roman listeners.

We find little of interest in the subsequent history of Sardis. Like a number of its neighbours, it yielded to the Macedonian conqueror, who treated its inhabitants with much favour, admitting Mithrenes, the governor of the citadel, into the number of his private associates, and employing him on confidential errands.[1] Having ordered a temple to be erected to Jove, on the site of the ancient palace of the Lydian kings, he left Pausanias as governor, permitting the inhabitants to live freely after their accustomed laws and manners.[2]

Sardis, however, rapidly declined, when, after the victory of the Romans over Antiochus, it became subject to that power which absorbed the whole greatness of Asia Minor. To become the province of a larger state, to change from the dimensions of a widely-spread[3] kingdom to those of a mere village, itself the tributary of an arbitrary and marauding power, with a nominal and purposeless subjection to some larger and better organized state, which has too little interest in its provinces, or has too much to take care of already—such has been the fate we have briefly recorded in the case of half the most glorious cities of antiquity. Sardis is no exception. The haughty palatial city of the Lydian empire had long since parted with her nationality; the gradual introduction of Persian manners and customs had depraved her once-hardy soldiers; and this ancient kingdom passed through all the stages of degradation which, when we view their ruins, we perceive was consummated throughout the cities of Asia Minor.

The calamities of nature were added to the destructive influence of demoralizing man. An earthquake had reduced it to a heap of ruins, when the emperor Tiberius[4] ordered it to be rebuilt. From various local traditions, however, and from the careful surveys that recent travellers have made, it seems probable that many interesting relics of the ancient city were pre-

[1] This may be inferred from Curt. iii. 12, 6.
[2] Arrian, l. p. 49 (ed. Var.), Diod. Sic. xvii. 21.
[3] Cf. Herodot. l. 26-7.
[4] Tacitus, Ann. ii. 47.

served, and that the work of repair was performed with some regard to the preservation of Lydian associations of an earlier date.

As the seat of a Christian church, the Scriptural notices of Sardis are limited to the rebukes addressed to its inhabitants by St. John,[1] which are sufficient to shew that it had declined much in faith, and that, although it still maintained the name and outward form of a Christian church, it was as one "having a name to live, while it was dead."[2]

Macfarlane furnishes the following pleasing account of his visit to the ruined capital of Lydia:—

"The country I traversed, the luxuriant vales of the Caicus and the Hermus—two noble rivers—was almost as deserted and melancholy as the regions between Smyrna and Pergamus; but nothing that I had yet seen equalled the desolation of the city of Sardis. I saw from afar the lofty Acropolis, fringed with crumbling ruins; and when I crossed a branch of the Golden Pactolus, which once flowed through the agora, market-place; and when I stood there at eleven o'clock—the very hour in which, in its ancient days, the place would be crowded—I saw not a soul, nor an object of any sort to remind me that this solitude had been a vast and splendid city, save here and there a patch of ruin—a dismantled wall, or a heap of stone and brick work mixed with brambles and creeping weeds. Where palaces and temples, theatres and crowded habitations had stood, a green and flowery carpet of smooth sward met the eye; and the tall, stately asphodel, or day-lily, gleamed in its beauty and pallidness where the marble column had risen in other days. The brook—for the Pactolus[3] is now

[1] See Rev. first three chapters. [2] Rev. iii. 1.

[3] The bed of the Pactolus was very stony, and many of the stones and pebbles I picked up were of a dark-brown colour; the earthy deposits of the flood were not like what I should imagine the nature and colour of sands containing gold. In the evening we told a Turk of the place, that this river had

nothing more than a brook, and a choked and insignificant one—gently 'babbled by;' a cool breeze blew from the snow-covered Mount Tmolus, which, if I may be permitted to use the poetical language of the Sicilians, as applied to Etna, stood like 'l'Arciprete de' monti, che in cotta bianca, al ciel porge gl' incensi,' facing me far across the plain. This breeze murmured along the steep rough sides of the Acropolis, and sighed among the underwood that grew thickly at its foot. Other sounds were there none, save now and then the neighing of my horse, who crushed the flowers and scented turf beneath his hoof, and gave utterance to the contentment and joy suggested by such fair pasture. This utter solitude, and in such a place, in the agora of the populous Sardis, became oppressive. I would have summoned the countless thousands of ancient Lydians, that for long centuries had slept the sleep of death beneath that gay green sward; spirits might have walked there in broad noon-day—so silent, void, awful was the spot! Here the hand of destruction had spared nothing but a few rent walls, which remained to tell all that had been done; were they not there, the eye might pass over the plain and the hill as a scene of a common desert, and never dream that here was the site of Sardis! The Pagan temple and the Christian church had alike been desolated; the architectural beauty of the one, and the pure destination of the other, having been all inefficacious for their preservation. Four rugged, dark, low walls, by the side of a little mill, represented the church; and two columns erect, and a few mutilated fragments of other columns, scattered on the sward or sunk in it, were all that remained of that 'beautiful and glorious

formerly run with gold, and that a great king had gathered from it immense riches. He shook his beard with laughter, and told us, that though he had been acquainted with the chai (water) for many years, he had never seen it bring down anything save stones and mud, which it did abundantly in the winter season.—MACFARLANE.

edifice,' the temple of Cybele at Sardis! At the mill by the church, I met two Greeks, and these, I believe, formed the resident Christian population of this once-distinguished city of the Lord. From the mill I could see a group of mud-huts on the acclivity under the southern cliffs of the Acropolis — there might have been half a dozen of these permanent habitations, and they were flanked by about as many black tents. A pastoral and wandering tribe of the Turcomans dwelt here at the moment; and the place almost retained the ancient name of the city—they called it Sart. Well might the Christian traveller exclaim here—'And what is Sardis now? Her foundations are fallen; her walls are thrown down.' 'She sits silent in darkness, and is no longer called the lady of kingdoms.' 'How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people!'"[1]

I may conclude my notice of Sardis with the following reflections of an equally thoughtful eye-witness:—

"Beside me were the cliffs of the Acropolis, which, centuries before, the hardy Median scaled, while leading on the conquering Persians, whose tents had covered the very spot on which I was reclining. Before me were the vestiges of what had been the palace of the gorgeous Crœsus; within its walls were once congregated the wisest of mankind—Thales, Cleobulus, and Solon. It was here that the wretched father mourned alone the mangled corpse of his beloved Atys; it was here that the same humiliated monarch wept at the feet of the Persian boy, who wrung from him his kingdom. Far in the distance were the gigantic tumuli of the Lydian monarchs, Candaules, Halyattes, and Gyges; and around them were spread those very plains once trodden by the countless hosts of Xerxes, when hurrying on to find a sepulchre at Marathon.

"There were more varied and more vivid remembrances associated with the sight of Sardis, than could

[1] Macfarlane.

possibly be attached to any other spot of earth; but all were mingled with a feeling of disgust at the littleness of human glory; all—all had passed away! There were before me the fanes of a dead religion, the tombs of forgotten monarchs, and the palm-tree that waved in the banquet-hall of kings; while the feeling of desolation was doubly heightened by the calm sweet sky above me, which, in its unfading brightness, shone as purely now as when it beamed upon the golden dreams of Crœsus."[1]

[1] Emerson, quoted in Stuart's Apocalypse, ii. p. 44.

THE RUINS OF AMERICAN CIVILIZATION.[1]

NOWHERE does the repetition of legend, and the existence of one fountain of superstition strike us so strangely, as when, having divested ourselves of all expectation of discovering any similarity between the religious feelings of the ancient inhabitants of the Old and the New World, we suddenly find ourselves overwhelmed by the resemblance of the traditions of the ancient tribes of the New Continent, concerning the Creation, to the Mosaic accounts of the Kosmical Genesis.

The etymologist has a new and unploughed field of primeval language opened up to him, and is staggered at the wonderful coincidences of language which crowd into his view. The symbolist here, too, has an addition made to his mysterious, and therefore doubly interesting, store in the picture-writing of the Mexicans, and in the strange mounds of the Mississippi shaped into the outline of the inhabitants of the woods.

The architect, likewise, cannot fail to look with deep attention and interest on the palaces of Yucatan, and see how, in the earliest ages, the mysteriously working mind of man had conceived such forms of symmetry, and reared these stately piles without the assistance of iron tools or of domestic draught-animals.

These works, indeed, remind us of the age when an irrevocable decree went forth, and when thousands of men, groaning under the lash till they felt its continually repeated strokes no longer, used their brute force

[1] For this article, I am again indebted to my friend Mackenzie.

to drag the unwieldy masses from the quarry to the building, to carry out, as if by magic, the conception of the one man in whose brain the plan had first drawn breath, where it had grown up, and whence, when matured, it sprang, Athênê-like, full armed and adorned, from the head where it had been first imagined.

Of no inferior interest to the palaces of Yucatan, are the brick-built pyramids of the same region, where the barbarous rites of the Aztecs, in strange contrast to the more agricultural rites of their predecessors the Toltecs, were celebrated even to the day when barbarous Spaniards entered the land, and caused the farther brutalization of the forcibly-displaced race; who saw, in sorrow and in misery, that there was no help to be expected, that no kind hand would stay the desecration of their homes and temples; and, wrought up by their sorrows to a pitch of frantic revenge, sold their kingdom dearly to the Spanish Christians, to whom by Papal decrees the new found land belonged. Indeed, under the strait in which they found themselves, I wonder only at their patience and moderation. The end of the Mexican Empire resembles that of a stricken boar in the thickets of Germany, whose dying spring is fearful and often fatal. Indeed, the picture-historians of the period seem but too anxious to forget the whole misery of the reign of Mocteçcuma II., and mark it merely as an unlucky year.[1] Their grief was too great to be shewn even in the records of the times to be handed down to their children. How fearfully did the armies of Cortez humanize the Mexicans, at the price of honour, religion, home and independence.

The plan proposed in the following sketch is to give an account of some of these ancient buildings, and of their probable era. And first of the pyramid temples of Yucatan and Mexico, which I shall introduce to

[1] Mendoza Chronicle, Part I. Plate xiv. in Antiquities of Mexico, vol. i.

the reader by an extract from a late inquiring historian:[1]—

"The Mexican temples—*teo-callis*, 'houses of God,' as they were called—were very numerous. There were several hundreds in each of the principal cities, many of them, doubtless, very humble edifices. They were solid masses of earth, cased with brick or stone, and in their form somewhat resembled the pyramidal structures of ancient Egypt. The bases of many of them were more than a hundred feet square, and they towered to a still greater height. They were distributed into four or five stories, each of smaller dimensions than that below. The ascent was by a flight of steps at an angle of the pyramid on the outside. This led to a sort of terrace, or gallery, at the base of the second story, which passed quite round the building to another flight of stairs, commencing also at the same angle as the preceding and directly over it, and leading to a similar terrace; so that one had to make the circuit of the temple several times before reaching the summit. In some instances the stairway led directly up the centre of the western face of the building. The top was a broad area, on which were erected one or two towers, forty or fifty feet high, the sanctuaries in which were placed the sacred images of the presiding deities. Before these towers stood the dreadful stone of sacrifice, and two lofty altars, on which fires were kept, as inextinguishable as those in the temple of Vesta. There were said to be six hundred of these altars, in smaller buildings within the enclosure of the great temple of Mexico, which, with those on the sacred edifices in other parts of the city, shed a brilliant illumination over its streets, through the darkest nights.

"From the construction of their temples, all religious services were public. The long processions of priests winding round their massive sides as they rose higher and higher towards the summit, and the dismal

[1] Prescott, Conquest of Mexico, i. p. 72, sqq.

rites of sacrifices performed there, were all visible from the remotest corners of the capital, impressing on the spectator's mind a superstitious veneration for the mysteries of his religion, and for the dread ministers by whom they were interpreted.

"This impression was kept in full force by their numerous festivals. Every month was consecrated to some protecting deity; and every week, nay, almost every day, was set down in their calendar for some appropriate celebration; so that it is difficult to understand how the ordinary business of life could have been compatible with the exactions of religion. Many of their ceremonies were of a light and cheerful complexion, consisting of the national songs and dances, in which both sexes joined. Processions were made of women and children crowned with garlands and bearing offerings of fruit, the ripened maize, or the sweet incense of copal, and other odoriferous gums, while the altars of the deity were stained with no blood save that of animals. These were the peaceful rites derived from their Toltec predecessors,[1] on which the fierce

[1] Mr. Prescott's reference to the Toltec race gives me an opportunity of saying that there can be no doubt that the Mexican polity and social system were derived through Polynesia, from the peninsula of Malacca. The accounts of Toltec civilization are identical with those of the customs of the present Polynesians, and Pickering has clearly proved that the so-called aboriginals of Oregon, New Mexico, and Anahuac are of the Malay race.—See his Races of Man, pp. 112-114. To Dr. Lang (View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation; demonstrating their Ancient Discovery and Progressive Settlement of the Continent of America, London, 1834) we owe the first promulgation of this theory (which I may have occasion hereafter to examine), and I am sure, from further grounds, of which the Principal of Sydney College was unaware, that the colonization of America took place from the Pacific Ocean. I cannot speak in too high terms of Dr. Lang's work: which, unlike that of the would-be discoverer of a Tyrian origin for the Americans, is temperate, logical, and not so much drawn from the "volume of the brain," as from a careful and sensible collation of facts and customs; whereas, of Mr. Jones's assertions we can only say, that they are unproven

Aztecs engrafted a superstition too loathsome to be exhibited in all its nakedness, and one over which I would gladly draw a veil altogether, but that it would leave the reader in ignorance of their most striking institution, and one that had the greatest influence in forming the national character.

"Human sacrifices were adopted by the Aztecs early in the fourteenth century, about two hundred years before the conquest. Rare at first, they became more frequent with the wider extent of their empire; till, at length, almost every festival was closed with this cruel abomination. These religious ceremonials were generally arranged in such a manner as to afford a type of the most prominent circumstances in the character or history of the deity who was the object of them. A single example will suffice.

"One of their most important festivals was that in honour of the god Tezcatlipoca, whose rank was inferior only to that of the Supreme Being. He was called 'the soul of the world,' and supposed to have been its creator. He was depicted as a handsome man, endowed with perpetual youth. A year before the intended sacrifice, a captive distinguished for his personal beauty, and without a blemish on his body, was selected to represent this deity. Certain tutors took charge of him, and instructed him how to perform his new part with becoming grace and dignity. He was arrayed in a splendid dress, regaled with incense and with a profusion of sweet-scented flowers, of which the ancient Mexicans were as fond as their descendants at the present day. When he went abroad he was attended by a train of the royal pages, and, as he halted in the streets to play some favourite melody, the crowd prostrated themselves before him, and did him homage as the representative of their good deity. In this way he led an easy luxurious life, till within a month of his

and brought forward, like too many of the reveries of the German scholars, who set up a theory, gathering reasons for it *afterwards*.

sacrifice. . . . At length the fatal day of sacrifice arrived. The term of his short-lived glories was at an end. He was stripped of his gaudy apparel, and bade adieu to the fair partners of his revelries. One of the royal barges transported him across the lake to a temple, which rose on its margin about a league from the city. Hither the inhabitants of the capital flocked to witness the consummation of the ceremony. As the sad procession wound up the sides of the pyramid, the unhappy victim threw away his gay chaplets of flowers, and broke in pieces the musical instruments with which he had solaced the hours of captivity. On the summit he was received by six priests, whose long and matted locks flowed disorderly over their sable robes, covered with hieroglyphic scrolls of mystic import. They led him to the sacrificial stone, a huge block of jasper, with its upper surface somewhat convex. On this the prisoner was stretched. Five priests secured his head and his limbs; while the sixth, clad in a scarlet mantle, emblematic of his bloody office, dexterously opened the breast of the wretched victim with a sharp razor of *itztl*,—a volcanic substance, hard as flint,—and, inserting his hand in the wound, tore out the palpitating heart. The minister of death, first holding this up towards the sun, an object of worship throughout Anahuac, cast it at the feet of the deity to whom the temple was devoted, while the multitudes below prostrated themselves in humble adoration. The tragic story of this prisoner was expounded by the priests as the type of human destiny, which, brilliant in its commencement, too often closes in sorrow and disaster.[1] . . . . The most loathsome part of the story—the manner in which the body of the sacrificed captive was disposed of—remains yet to be told. It was delivered to the warrior who had taken him in battle, and by him, after being dressed, was served

[1] Prescott remarks that Dante in the *Inferno*, Canto xxiii., unconsciously described the Mexican sacrificial rites. See also Southey's Madoc on all Mexican subjects.

up in an entertainment to his friends. This was not the coarse repast of famished cannibals, but a banquet teaming with delicious beverages and delicate viands prepared with art and attended by both sexes, who, as we shall see hereafter, conducted themselves with all the decorum of civilized life."[1]

To such appalling uses were these pyramids, now gray with time, applied. I will now proceed to describe one of them, that of Cholula.

It has been generally believed that the Toltecs, the predecessors of the savage but politic Aztecs, were the builders of the pyramidical mountains which travellers and antiquarians have found abounding in Mexico and Yucatan; but it is a matter of great probability that the Aztec race carried out the plans conceived by them, though not, I must fain believe, for the same barbarous purposes. The Mongolian race, coming from the adjacent shores of Asia, evidently introduced these horrid rites. As to the origin of these structures, it is a fact extremely worth dwelling on, that in the South Sea Islands the remains of similar pyramidal mounds, tumuli, temples, and fortifications[2] are found. Now, if the comparative age of the bricks or stone could be ascertained, it would lead to important and decisive results; for, as Paley held, circumstantial evidence never can lie, as it is not susceptible of being controverted; whereas assertions, however true, can be contradicted: it is, therefore, more trust-worthy than the other.

The largest, and probably the most ancient structure of a pyramidal form in Anahuac is that of Cholula. Humboldt[3] informs us, that in the present day

[1] In some years, according to Zumarragua, 20,000 victims were thus sacrificed. The germs of the Mexican rite are to be found in Otaheite (Lang, p. 102), where the unsuspecting victim was despatched by the priest at a single blow, and exposed to putrify in a wicker frame on the branch of the tree, near the *Morai* (temple) of the God.

[2] Lang. Origin of the Polynesian Nation, p. 102.

[3] Researches, i. p. 87. Eng. Transl.

this *teo-calli* (house of God) is called the Mountain made by the hand of Man (*monte hecho a manos*). "At a distance," continues the traveller, "it has the aspect of a natural hill covered with vegetation. . . . The *teo-calli* of Cholula has four stories, all of equal height. It appears to have been constructed exactly in the directions of the four cardinal points; but as the edges of the stories are not very distinct, it is difficult to ascertain their primitive direction. This pyramidical monument has a broader basis than that of any other edifice of the same kind in the old continent. I measured it carefully, and ascertained that its perpendicular height is only fifty metres [Prescott, 177 feet], but that at each side of its basis is 439 metres [1423 feet] in length. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a common soldier in the army of Cortez, amused himself by counting the steps of the staircases which led to the platforms of the *teo-callis*. He found 114 in the great temple at Tenocktillan, 117 in that of Tezcuco, and 120 in that of Cholula." . . .

The temple of Cholula is reported in the traditions of the natives to have been built by giants, who, after the Deluge, began to raise it in order to save themselves in case of another flood, but the irritated deity struck and destroyed their labour. This legend has some points of resemblance with that of Babel; and "one," says Prescott,[1] "who has not examined the subject, will scarcely credit what bold hypotheses have been reared on this slender basis." I am of opinion that the legend has been associated with the pyramid long after its building, when some imaginative genius invented it, in pity of the tale, so giving it—

"A local habitation and a name."

This is confirmed by the accidental discovery of a stone chamber and skeletons in the pyramid, many years ago, in the formation of a road. The arched ceiling

[1] History of Mexico, iii. p. 381.

of this chamber is of the rudest description, such as is frequently met with in the Pacific islands.

I will conclude this account of the pyramid of Cholula, which may answer for a description of all, by quoting the brilliant description of the latest investigator of Mexican antiquities:[1]—

"On the summit stood a sumptuous temple, in which was the image of the mystic deity, 'God of the Air,' with ebon features, unlike the fair complexion which he bore upon earth, wearing a mitre on his head waving with plumes of fire, with a resplendent collar of gold round his neck, pendants of mosaic turquoise in his ears, a jewelled sceptre in one hand, and a shield curiously painted, the emblem of his rule over the winds, in the other. The sanctity of the place, hallowed by hoary tradition, and the magnificence of the temple and its services, made it an object of veneration throughout the land, and pilgrims from the furthest corners of Anahuac came to offer up their devotions at the shrine of Quetzalcoatl. The number of these was so great as to give an air of mendicity to the motley population of the city; and Cortez, struck with the novelty, tells us that he saw multitudes of beggars, such as are to be found in the enlightened capitals of Europe: a whimsical criterion of civilization, which must place our own prosperous land somewhat low in the scale.

"Cholula was not the resort only of the indigent devotee. Many of the kindred races had temples of their own in the city, in the same manner as some Christian nations have in Rome, and each temple was provided with its own peculiar ministers for the service of the deity to whom it was consecrated. In no city was there seen such a concourse of priests, so many processions, such pomp of ceremonial sacrifice, and religious festivals. Cholula was, in short, what Mecca is among Mahomedans, or Jerusalem among Christians; it was the Holy City of Anahuac. . . .

[1] Prescott's History of Mexico, ii. p. 7.

Nothing could be more grand than the view which met the eye from the area on the truncated summit of the pyramid. Toward the west stretched that bold barrier of porphyritic rock which nature has reared around the valley of Mexico, with the huge Popacatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, standing like two colossal sentinels to guard the entrance to the enchanted region. Far away to the east was seen the conical head of Orizaba, soaring high into the clouds, and near the barren though beautifully-shaped Sierra de Malinche, throwing its broad shadows over the plain of Tlascala. Three of these are volcanoes higher than the highest mountain peak in Europe, and shrouded in snows which never melt under the fierce sun of the tropics. At the foot of the spectator lay the sacred city of Cholula, with its bright towers and pinnacles sparkling in the sun, reposing amidst gardens and verdant groves, which then thickly studded the cultivated environs of the capital. Such was the magnificent prospect which met the gaze of the conquerors, and may still, with slight change, meet that of the modern traveller, as from the platform of the great pyramid his eye wanders over the fairest portion of the beautiful plateau of Puebla."

The Casa del Gobernador, House of the Governor, at Uxmal, one of the most remarkable city palaces of Central America, is thus described by Mr. Catherwood:[1]—

"The 'Casa del Gobernador,' or House of the Governor, is one of the most extensive and important of the ancient buildings at Uxmal, in Yucatan. It is constructed entirely of hewn stone, and measures 320 feet in front, by 40 feet in depth. The height is about 26 feet. It has eleven doorways in front, and one at each end. The apartments are narrow, seldom exceeding 12 feet, just large enough to swing a hammock, which was, and still is, the substitute for beds throughout the country. Some of the rooms measure 60 feet

[1] Views in Central America. London, 1844, p. 15.

in length, and are 23 feet high. There does not appear to have been any internal decoration in the chambers, nor are there any windows. The lower part of the edifice is of plain wrought stone, but the upper portion is singularly rich in ornament. Taking the front, the ends, and the rear of the building, there is a length of 752 feet of elaborate carving, on which traces of colour are still visible. The peculiar arch of the country has been employed in every room. The lintels of the doorways were of wood, a more costly material to work than stone,[1] but less durable. Unfortunately, they have all decayed, and the masonry they supported has, in places, fallen down, and much of the beauty of the building is thus destroyed. The central ornament over the principal doorway was a seated figure, of which but slight traces remain. The head-dress of feathers is more perfect, and appears totally disproportioned to the size of the figure. On either side is a parallel bar of stone, between which are well sculptured hieroglyphics. The cornice was perhaps intended to represent the coilings of a serpent; it continued from one extremity of the building to the other, and goes entirely round it. The Casa del Gobernador stands on three terraces; the lowest is three feet high, fifteen feet wide, and 575 feet long; the second is 20 feet high, 250 feet wide, and 545 feet long; and the third is 19 feet high, 30 feet broad, and 360 feet long. They are all of stone, and in a tolerably good state of preservation."

Even here in the wilderness, where it might be supposed mysticism would not be found, we find that symbolism and mysterious import of number which seems to have been so widely spread among the nations of antiquity. The length of the upper platform is seen to correspond nearly with the number of days in the year, and the mysterious emblem of eternity, the serpent, is found extending its portentous length around the building,

[1] Stephens frequently mentions that the beams of the *doorways* at Uxmal and Palenque cracked across, and crumbled *into dust* on their removal.

which, like the temples of India, was consecrated to a worship of the nature of which, except by an examination of the simple religions of the Polynesians, we shall never be able to obtain any definite knowledge. From their customs alone can we arrive at the solution of the problems of early migrations, and to them I would accordingly direct the attention of the students of the physical distribution of the races of mankind. To return to Uxmal. It is much better to give the descriptions of eye-witnesses than to attempt the compilation of one from the accounts given us by travellers; I shall therefore quote some passages from a late investigator of this district:—

"The first object," says Stephens,[1] "that arrests the eye on emerging from the forest is the building to the right of the spectator. Drawn off by mounds of ruins and piles of gigantic buildings, the eye returns, and again fastens upon this lofty structure. It was the first building I entered. From its front doorway I counted sixteen elevations, with broken walls and mounds of stones, and vast magnificent edifices, which at that distance seemed untouched by time, and defying ruin. I stood in the doorway when the sun went down, throwing from the buildings a prodigious breadth of shadow, darkening the terraces on which they stood, and presenting a scene strange enough for a work of enchantment.

"This building is sixty-eight feet long. The elevation on which it stands is built up solid from the plain, entirely artificial. Its form is not pyramidal, but oblong and rounding, being 240 feet long at the base, and 120 broad, and it is protected all round, to the very top, by a wall of square stones. Perhaps the high ruined sculptures at Palenque, which we have called pyramidal, and which were so ruined that we could not make them out exactly, were originally of the same shape. On the east side of the structure is a broad range of stone steps, between eight and nine inches high,

[1] Incidents of Travel in Central America, t. ii. p. 420, sqq.

and so steep that great care is necessary in ascending and descending; of these we counted a hundred and one in their places. Nine were wanting at the top, and perhaps twenty were covered with rubbish at the bottom: at the summit of the steps is a stone platform four feet and a half wide, running along the rear of the building. There is no door in the centre, but at each end a door opens into an apartment eighteen feet long and nine wide, and between the two is a third apartment of the same width, and thirty-four feet long. The whole building is of stone; inside, the walls are of polished smoothness; outside, up to the height of the door, the stones are plain and square; above this line, there is a rich cornice or moulding; and from this to the top of the building, all the sides are covered with rich and elaborate sculptured ornaments, forming a sort of arabesque. The style and character of these ornaments were entirely different from those of any we had seen before, either in that country or any other; they bore no resemblance whatever to those of Copan or Palenque, and were quite as unique and peculiar. The designs were strange and incomprehensible, very elaborate, sometimes grotesque, but often simple, tasteful, and beautiful. Among the intelligible subjects are squares and diamonds, with busts of human beings, heads of leopards, and compositions of leaves and flowers, and the ornaments known everywhere as *grecques*. The ornaments, which succeed each other, are all different; the whole form an extraordinary mass of richness and complexity, and the effect is both grand and curious. And the construction of these ornaments is not less peculiar and striking than the general effect. There were no tablets or single stones, each representing separately and by itself an entire subject; but every ornament or combination is made up of separate stones, on each of which part of the subject was carved, and which was then set in its place in the walls. Each stone by itself was an unmeaning fractional part; but, *placed* by the side of others, helped to make a whole,

which without it would be incomplete. Perhaps it may, with propriety, be called a species of sculptured mosaic.

"From the front door of this extraordinary building a pavement of hard cement, twenty-two feet long by fifteen broad, leads to the roof of another building, seated lower down on the artificial structure. There is no staircase or other visible communication between the two; but, descending by a pile of rubbish along the side of the lower one, and groping around the corner, we entered a doorway in front four feet wide, and found inside a chamber twelve feet high, with corridors running the whole breadth, of which the front one was seven feet three inches deep, and the other three feet nine inches. The inner walls were of smooth and polished square stones, and there was no inner door, or means of communication with any other place. Outside, the doorway was loaded with ornaments, and the whole exterior was the same as that of the building described above. The steps leading from the doorway to the foot of the structure were entirely destroyed.

"The Indians regard these ruins with superstitious reverence. They will not go near them at night, and they have the old story that immense treasure is hidden among them. Each of the buildings has its name given to it by the Indians. This is called the Casa del Anano, or House of the Dwarf,[1] and it is consecrated by a wild legend, which, as I sat in the doorway, I received from the lips of an Indian, as follows:—

"There was an old woman who lived in a hut on the very spot now occupied by the structure on which this building is perched, and opposite the Casa del Gobernador, who went mourning that she had no children. In her distress she one day took an egg, covered it with a cloth, and laid it away carefully in one corner of the hut. Every day she went to look at

[1] This *teo-calli* is also named the House of the Diviner.

it, until one morning she found the egg hatched, and a *criatura*, or creature, or baby, born. The old woman was delighted, and called it her son, provided it with a nurse, took good care of it, so that in one year it walked and talked like a man; and then it stopped growing. The old woman was more delighted than ever, and said he would be a great lord or king. One day she told him to go to the house of the Gobernador, and challenge him to a trial of strength. The dwarf cried to beg off, but the old woman insisted, and he went. The guard admitted him, and he flung his challenge at the Gobernador. The latter smiled, and told him to lift a stone of three *arrobas*, or seventy-five pounds; at which the little fellow cried and returned to his mother, who sent him back to say that if the Gobernador lifted it first, he would afterwards. The Gobernador lifted it, and the dwarf immediately did the same. The Gobernador then tried him with other feats of strength, and the dwarf regularly did whatever was done by the Gobernador. At length, indignant at being matched by a dwarf, the Gobernador told him that unless he made a house in one night higher than any in the place he would kill him. The poor dwarf again returned crying to his mother, who bade him not to be disheartened, and the next morning he awoke and found himself in this lofty building. The Gobernador, seeing it from the door of his palace, was astonished, and sent for the dwarf, and told him to collect two bundles of *cogoiol*, a wood of a very hard species, with one of which he, the Gobernador, would beat the dwarf over the head, and afterwards the dwarf should beat him with the other. The dwarf again returned crying to his mother, but the latter told him not to be afraid, and put on the crown of his head a *tortillita de trigo*, a small thin cake of wheat flour. The trial was made in the presence of all the great men in the city. The Gobernador broke the whole of his bundle over the *dwarf's* head, without hurting the little fellow in the

least. He then tried to avoid the trial on his own head, but he had given his word in the presence of his officers, and was obliged to submit. The second blow of the dwarf broke his skull in pieces, and all the spectators hailed the victor as their new Gobernador. The old woman then died; but at the Indian village of Mani, seventeen leagues distant, there is a deep well, from which opens a cave that leads under ground, an immense distance, to Merida. In this cave, on the bank of a stream, under the shade of a large tree, sits an old woman, with a serpent by her side, who sells water in small quantities, not for money, but only for a *criatura*, or baby, to give the serpent to eat; and this old woman is the mother of the dwarf. Such is the fanciful legend connected with this edifice; but it hardly seemed more strange than the structure to which it referred.

"The other building is called by a name which may originally have had some reference to the vestals, who, in Mexico, were employed to keep burning the sacred fire; but I believe, in the mouths of the Indians of Uxmal, it has no reference whatever to history, tradition, or legend, but is derived entirely from Spanish associations. It is called Casa de las Monjas, or House of the Nuns, or the Convent. It is situated on an artificial elevation about fifteen feet high. Its form is quadrangular, and one side, according to my measurement, is ninety-five paces in length. It was not possible to pace all around it, from the masses of fallen stones which encumber it in some places, but it may be safely stated at 250 feet square. Like the House of the Dwarf, it is built entirely of cut stone, and the whole exterior is filled with the same rich, elaborate, and incomprehensible, sculptured stone ornaments.

"The principal entrance is by a large doorway into a beautiful *patio* or court-yard, grass-grown, but clear of trees; and the whole of the inner façade is ornamented more richly and elaborately than the outside,

and in a more perfect state of preservation. On one side, the combination was in the form of diamonds, simple, chaste, and tasteful; and at the head of the court-yard, two gigantic serpents, with their heads broken and fallen, were winding from opposite directions along the whole façade.

"In front, and on a line with the door of the convent, is another building on a lower foundation, of the same general character, called Casa de Tortugas, from sculptured turtles over the doorway.[1] This building had in several places huge cracks, as if it had been shaken by an earthquake. It stands nearly in the centre of the ruins, and the top commands a view all round, of singular but wrecked magnificence.

"Beyond this, a little to the right, approached by passing over mounds of ruins, was another building which, at a great distance, attracted our attention by its conspicuous ornaments. We reached it by ascending two high terraces. The main building was similar to the others, and along the top ran a high ornamental wall, which, from the peculiar style of decoration, was called Casa de Palormos or House of Pigeons, and at a distance it looked more like a row of pigeon-houses than anything else.

"In front was a broad avenue, with a line of ruins on each side, leading beyond the wall of the convent to a great mound of ruins, which probably had once been a building with which it was connected; and beyond this is a lofty building in the rear, to which this seemed but a vestibule or porter's lodge. Between the two was a large *patio* or court-yard, with corridors on each side, and the ground of the court-yard sounded hollow. In one place the surface was

[1] Mr. Stephens has not remarked the circumstance, that these sculptures are strongly in favour of a Malay origin, through Polynesia. The islanders hold turtles in the highest veneration, attaching supernatural powers to them; the Burmese and the Avans, in the farther Peninsula of India, have a tradition *that the world* is supported by a large tortoise or turtle.

broken, and I descended into a large excavation cemented, which had probably been intended as a granary. At the back of the court-yard, on a high broken terrace, which it was difficult to climb, was another edifice more ruined than the others, but which, from the style of its remains, and its commanding position, overlooking every other building except the House of the Dwarf, and apparently having been connected with the distant mass of ruins in front, must have been one of the most important in the city, perhaps the principal temple. The Indians call it the *quartel* or guard-house. It commanded a view of other ruins not contained in the enumeration of those seen from the House of the Dwarf; and the whole presented a scene of barbaric magnificence utterly confounding all previous notions in regard to the aboriginal inhabitants of this country, and calling up emotions which had not been wakened to the same extent by anything we had yet seen."[1]

Such is the minute and interesting description of the ruined city of Uxmal given us by Mr. Stephens. Did space admit of it, we would have given an account of the interesting investigations at Palenque, but Uxmal must serve as a specimen of all of these wonderful cities. I am precluded, likewise, from want of room, from offering any observations on the era of these ruins; but I hope to have the opportunity ere long of bringing the subject more particularly before the public, in a work on the subject which I have been for some time preparing. I will, before passing to the subject of the Mississippi and Ohio ruins, merely note the general resemblance of the ruins with those engraved of the restoration of the Persepolitan ruins. That the Vedaic religion, if I may so express my-

[1] Mr. Stephens remarks the singular fact, that there are no visible means of supplying the town with water existing within a mile and a half.

self, was that followed by the Toltecs, I have little doubt.[1]

But decidedly the most remarkable circumstances connected with the buildings of America, is the similarity between their *teo-callis* and the pyramid of Bel or Babel, as remarked by Dr. Lang, and by others before and after him. To Dr. Lang's work I would refer any one anxious to get at the facts and data on which his arguments are founded.

We now leave the ruins of Yucatan, and flying rapidly over the mysterious pyramids of Mexico, we leave the sultry arid plains, and the dark cool forests behind, and looking round, see before us another and a far different locality. I shall introduce my account of the ruins of the Western States of America by some observations contained in a letter from Mr. Brackenridge to Jefferson:—"Throughout what is denominated by Volney the valley of the Mississippi," says that gentleman,[2] "there exist the traces of a population far beyond what this extensive and fertile portion of the continent is supposed to have possessed; greater, perhaps, than could be supported, of the present white inhabitants, even with the careful agriculture practised in the most populous part of Europe. The reason of this is to be found in the peculiar manners of the inhabitants by whom it was formerly occupied; like those of Mexico, their agriculture had for its only object their own sustenance; no surplus was demanded for commerce with foreign nations, and no part of the soil susceptible of culture was devoted to pasturage, yet extensive forests filled with wild animals would still remain. . . . We must in this way account for the astonishing population of the vale of Mexico, when

[1] The reader might naturally expect some accounts of the Peruvian cities, but as this article is only intended to shew, rudely indeed, but strikingly, that two races built up the various remains in America, they, as a part of the Toltec race, have not been particularly mentioned.

[2] Transact. of the American Philosoph. Society, Art. vii. *vol. i.* New Series, p. 151. The letter is dated July 25, 1813.

first known to the Spaniards, perhaps equal to any district of the same extent of climate. The astonishing population of Owhyhee and Otaheite must be accounted for in the same way. . . . In the valley of the Mississippi, there are discovered the traces of two distinct races of people, or periods of population; one much more ancient than the other. The traces of the last are the most numerous, but mark a population less advanced in civilization; in fact, they belong to the same race that existed in the country when the French and English effected their settlements on this part of the continent; but since the intercourse of these people with the whites, and their astonishing diminution in numbers, many of their customs have fallen into disuse. . . . The appearances of fortifications, of which so much has been said, and which have been attributed to a colony of Welch, are nothing more than the traces of palisadoed towns or villages.[1] . . . We might be warranted in considering the mounds of the Mississippi more ancient than the Teo-calli: a fact worthy of notice, although the stages are still plain in some of them, the gradations or steps have disappeared, in the course of time, the rains having washed them off."

Mr. Brackenridge evidently suspects a Polynesian origin for the constructors of these mounds, but his idea is not expressed. He considers the Toltecs to have migrated from this district.

One of the most remarkable and extensive works of defences constructed by the ancient American tribes, is that on the banks of the Little Miami river, about thirty-five miles to the north-east of Cincinnati, in Warren County, Ohio, called Fort-Ancient. It occupies[2] a terrace on the left bank of the Miami, and is

[1] The writer might have added that they were precisely similar to those in use in the Friendly Islands, particularly in the great fort on Tonga, and in other of the Pacific Isles.

[2] This account is abridged from that of Locke, in the Papers of the American Association of Geologists and Naturalists, for 1843.

situated 230 feet above the level of the river. The position is naturally strong, being defended by two ravines, which, commencing on the east side of the peninsula, near to each other, diverge and sweep round, entering the Miami, one above and the other below the work. On the west, the Miami, with its precipitous bank of 200 feet, is itself the defence. On the very verge of the ravines, totally surrounding the peninsula, an embankment of great height and strength has been raised; and such an attention was paid to the meanderings of its course, that Professor Locke required 196 stations to complete the survey he made. The whole circuit of the work was about four miles. The bank of earth is in many places twenty feet high, and is composed of a tough, alluvial clay, without stone. There is no continuous ditch, whence the earth was dug, around the work; but pits, still to be distinguished, were the source whence the earth was obtained. Professor Locke himself concludes:—

"Finally, I am astonished to see a work simply of earth, after braving the storms of thousands of years, still so entire and well marked. Several circumstances have contributed to this. The clay of which it is built is not easily penetrated by water. The bank has been, and is still, mostly covered by a forest of beech-trees, which have woven a strong web of their roots over its steep sides; and a fine bed of moss (*Polytrichum*) serves still further to afford protection."

There are more than seventy gateways or interruptions in the embankments, at irregular intervals along the line. They were probably, as supposed by Messrs. Squier and Davis,[1] "places once occupied by block-houses or bastions composed of timber, and which have long since decayed." This fort evidently shews great military skill, and might indeed, if occasion were to require it, be again used for its original purpose. The work appears still more remarkable when we consider

[1] Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, p. 20.

that it was constructed without any other aid than human hands.

More curious than the foregoing earthwork are the mounds in Dade County, Wisconsin, about seven miles to the east of the Blue Mounds. They are situated on the great Indian trail or war-path, between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, and are six effigies of quadrupeds, six parallelograms, one circular tumulus, one small circle, and one effigy of the human figure, with the head towards the west,[1] and unnaturally long arms. These tumuli extend about half a mile along the trail. What the animals represented in effigy are, it is not easy to determine. Some have supposed the buffalo to be the animal intended; "but," as Squier[2] very justly remarks, "the absence of a tail, and of the characteristic hump of that animal, would seem to point to a different conclusion;" and, besides, I may be permitted to ask, why should the buffalo be the animal especially chosen? It is to be remarked that these effigies have the head turned to the west, which circumstance, together with the position of the head of the human tumulus, seems to me to signify that the tribes who constructed these remarkable mounds, commemorated thereby some favourite and common animal of their former country, which lay towards the west. In examining ancient ruins like those now before us, we must measure the reigning idea by an ancient standard; and the closer we get to such standard, the more do we approach to the truth. In speaking of these traces of a nation sleeping now for ever the death-sleep of time, we must approach as nearly as possible to the psychological conception of them, and take into consideration the fondness the

[1] The head being laid towards the west, proves two things:— 1. That the constructors of the mounds came from the west, 2. and that they shared, with other Oriental nations, a superstition observable alike in the most ancient and modern times, of burial toward one point of the compass.

[2] Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, p. 126.

ancients had for mysticism. I may mention, likewise, that in the north-western part of the Hindo-Chinese countries, similar circular and oblong tumuli are to be found, and, if I recollect right, one in the form of an animal. It has been supposed, too, to be the bear that the Indians thus honoured; but, though I am unable to prove what the animal was, this solution of the problem does not satisfy me.

"The figures seem," says Squier,[1] "to be most prevalent; and, though preserving about the same relative proportions, vary in size from 90 to 120 feet. In many other places, as at this point, they occur in ranges, one after the other at irregular intervals. In the midst of this group is the representation of a human figure, placed with its head towards the west, and having its arms and legs extended. Its length is 125 feet, and it is 140 feet from the extremity of one arm to that of the other. The body is thirty feet in breadth, the head twenty-five feet in diameter, and its elevation considerably greater than that of most of the others, being not much less than six feet. The human figure is not uncommon among the effigies, and is always characterized by the extraordinary and unnatural length of its arms."

Ten miles west of Madison, in the same county Dade, Wisconsin, are other works of a similar nature; but the animals represented are evidently not the same, as they have long and heavy tails. One of the two effigies has almost a pair of horns. The Indian war-trail, now the military road to Madison, passes between the mounds.

In other places, birds and insects are represented on the same gigantic scale. The utterly infantine manner in which these works are built up render it impossible to offer any conjecture as to what they were really intended to represent, and for what uses

[1] Ancient Monuments (*l. c*).

they were designed, except, indeed, that they might have been religious monuments.

I have been led to enlarge on these curious remains, from their being so little known and so interesting, as they will be felt when once brought under the notice of the public: I will but briefly mention the sacrificial mounds and altars of the same people[1] in the valley.

"A simple heap of earth or stones," says Squier,[2] "seems to have been the first monument which suggested itself to man; the pyramid, the arch, and the obelisk, are evidences of a more advanced state. But rude as are these primitive memorials, they have been but little impaired by time, while other more imposing structures have sunk into shapeless ruins.[3] When covered with forests, and their surfaces interlaced with the roots of trees and bushes, or when protected by turf, the humble mound bids defiance to the elements which throw down the temple, and crumble the marble into dust. We therefore find them, little changed from their original proportions, side by side with the ruins of those proud edifices which mark the advanced, as the former do the primitive, state of the people who built them."

Indeed, as Mr. Squier goes on to remark, these rude mounds are found in India, Siberia, and Scandinavia; by the shores of the Bosphorus and the Mediterranean, and in Britain. In America, these marks of a primitive state extends from the northern lakes through the

[1] The extreme want of taste exhibited in the construction of the mounds we have just been noticing, inclines me to consider them the productions of another, and ruder race of people than the Toltecs. Pickering, indeed, in his Races of Man, says that, he found no traces of systematic agriculture above the Oregon territory.

[2] Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, p. 139.

[3] There certainly seems something in the American atmosphere which preserves ancient buildings more fully than the atmosphere of the Old World, as the perfect state in which the palaces of Yucatan are found shews.

valley of the Mississippi, and even to the south of the continent by Mexico, Peru, and Brazil, to the La Plate and Cape Horn.

Description of these relics of the Mississippi races is almost unnecessary, as they so closely resemble our British *cairns* and barrows, being only on a much larger scale.

I cannot, however, before closing this article, omit to notice some points connected with the religion of the semi-civilized races in America, referring the reader to Prescott for more diffuse accounts. I stated, at the commencement of this article,[1] that the Mosaic account of the Creation found a full parallel in the accounts of the same event in the Mexican symbolical papyri; but more fully and strangely did they resemble the Hebrews in their institutions. I am far more inclined to see a parallel, however, with Polynesian customs in some of these, than with Jewish.[2] Some salient points of coincidence may be interesting to the reader.

The most reasonable course is to follow the course of tradition from the creation downward. And, first, of the names and attributes of the Creator.

"*Xiuletl,* in the Mexican language," says the commentator on the Antiquities of Mexico,[3] "signifies blue,

[1] Page 246.

[2] The Spanish historians, Acosta and Torquemada, were so much struck by the similitude, and yet utterly unbelieving in the theory of a Hebrew origin, that they were obliged to look upon the Mexicans as a parody of the devil's, in the New World, on the chosen race in the Old! Of course, had they possessed some of the facts made known by late investigation, they would have found that the Malay race were the colonizers of America, and more largely than Pickering, in "The Races of Man," pp. 112 sqq., supposes. Indeed, that excellent physiologist has not marked the Malay race as sufficiently extended in his Ethnographical Map of the eleven races which his facts clearly prove to exist. As they spread to the West India Islands of Cuba, Jamaica, and Barbadoes, there is every probability of the correctness of my notions. At some future time, I may discuss this more fully.

[3] Vol. vi. p. 392, sqq.

and hence was a name which the Mexicans gave to heaven, from which Xiuleticutli is derived, an epithet signifying *the God of Heaven*, which they bestowed upon *Tezcatlipoca* or *Tonacateuctli*, who was painted with a crown as LORD of all, as the interpreter of the Codex Tellereano-Remensis affirms;[1] to whom they assigned the first and last place[2] in the calendar, emphatically styling him the God of Fire. Xiuleticutli may bear the other interpretation of the God of Ages, the Everlasting One, which, connected with the Mexican notion of fire being the element more peculiarly sacred to Him, recalls to our recollection the ninth and tenth verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel's description of the vision of the Ancient of Days, from 'before whom issued a fiery stream, and whose throne was like the fiery flame.'"

This Tonacateuctli, the supreme God, resided in the garden of Tonaquatatitlan. He was the father of Quetzalcoatl, and was surnamed Ometecutli[3] (Most High). Quetzalcoatl was the Son of God by the virgin of Tula, Chimelman, by His breath or will. "His incarnation," says Humboldt,[4] "existed from eternity, and that He had been the creator of both the world and man; that he had descended to reform the world by endurance, and being king of Tula, was crucified for the sins of mankind, &c., as is plainly declared in the tradition of Yucatan, and mysteriously represented in the Mexican paintings."

With the Tree of Scandinavia, too, Yggdrasill (or that of Eden), they were acquainted, and it seems to have held no mean place in their mythology. In Chiapa, we learn from Garcia,[5] the name of the Father is *Icona;*

[1] Vol. vi. p. 107.

[2] "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last."—"Ἐγώ εἰμι τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος, πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος."—Revelations, xxii. 13.

[3] Compare with OM-ete-cutli, the OM of the Sanskrit Vedas and the OM-eto-Fuh of the Chinese.

[4] Antiquities of Mexico, vi. p. 507, *n.*

[5] Garcios Origin de los Indios, in Antiquities of Mexico, vi. p. 122.

of the Son, *Vacah*; and of the Holy Spirit, *Es-Ruach*.[1]

Of Eve, whom they called Yex-nextli, they seem to have had some tradition, but the apple of Genesis is converted here into roses (called elsewhere Fruit of the Tree). She is represented by Sahagun to have had twins, a son and daughter, Cain and Calmana; and afterwards she again bore twins, Abel and his sister Delborah; she obtained the name of serpent-woman (Chuacohuatl).[2] The rebellion of the spirits against the Almighty also meets with a parallel in Anahuacan legends of the war in Heaven, and the fall of Zoutemoquen and the other rebels. The deluge and the ark are also alluded to in the Mexican MSS. It was represented as being made of fir wood, under the direction of Palecatli, or Cipaquetona, who invented wine; Xelua, one of his descendants, aided in the construction of a high tower, destroyed by Tonacatecutli, who confounded their language at the same period.

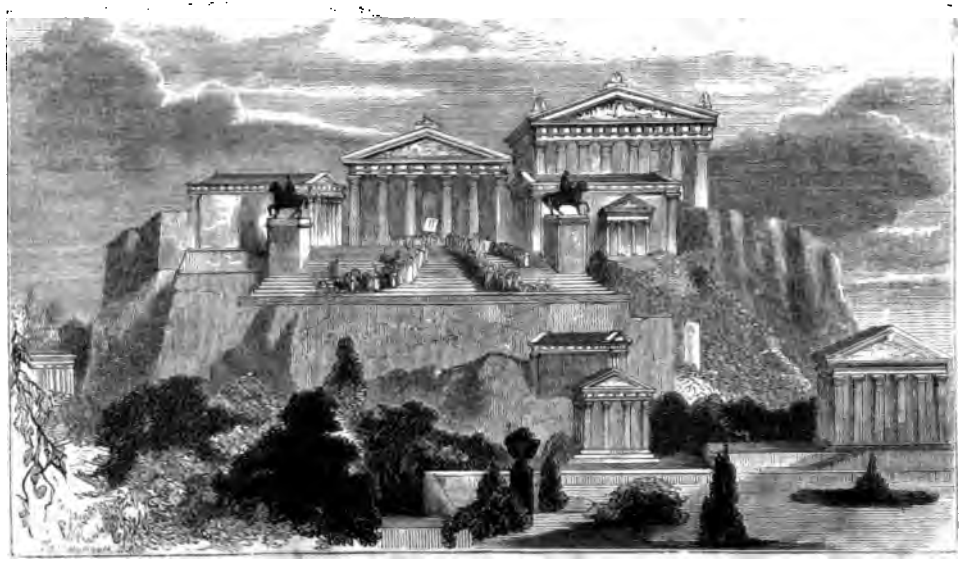
Such are a few of the coincidences which the ingenuity of commentators and enthusiasm of would-be discoverers have elicited from the Mexican paintings But on this subject all speculation is unsatisfactory and bewildering. Whether the judgment of these ingenious men was overruled by their imagination, or whether the paintings really represent some episodes of the Mosaical history, it is not for me to pronounce. I would merely suggest to the students of Mexican history a careful examination of the Codex Mendoza, the only existing key to the political history, economy, and social life of the country, under the dynasty of the Aztec kings. Any attempt to unravel the other paintings, I would enforce, but very modestly, upon the reader as being utterly absurd and, as I just now said, bewildering. Of the Toltecs, though they are more ancient, it is more satisfactory to speak, and the concurrent evidence of historical, phy-

[1] אתרוח Isaiah lxiiii. 10. By the Mexicans *Eh-Euach*, as they had no *r*.

[2] See Codex Vaticanus, p. 48.

sical, zoological, physiological, social, and architectural investigations, points to their race being the Malayan or Polynesian. To that race are the Mexicans and Peruvians indebted for the arts of peace, and for the amenities of life, which they enjoyed.





ATHENS



globe, speak of Attica. Of Attica, the galleries of princes and nations are full. Of Attica, the temples and palaces, and libraries and council-rooms of capital cities, give sensible witness and will do for ever.

"But above all, it is due to the intellectual results produced by the inhabitants of this small canton of Europe, that the language in which they spoke and in which they wrote, became the vernacular tongue of the whole world. The genius of Athenians made their speech universal; the treasures which they deposited in it rendered its acquisition essential to all; and thus the sway, unlimited in extent and invincible in power, which was wielded over the universe by the arms of Rome, was exercised over Rome itself by the arts of Athens. To Attica, therefore, it is to be attributed that, first, precisely at the season when such a channel of general communication was most needed, there existed a common language in the world; and, secondly, that this language was Greek; or, in other words, that there was, at the time of the first propagation of the Gospel, a tongue in which it could be preached to the whole earth, and that Greek, the most worthy of such a distinction, was the language of Inspiration, —the tongue of the earliest preachers and writers of Christianity. Therefore we may regard Attica, viewed in this light, as engaged in the same cause, and leagued in a holy confederacy, with Palestine; we may consider the philosophers, and orators, and poets of this country as preparing the way, by a special dispensation of God's providence, for the Apostles, and Fathers, and Apologists of the Church of Christ."[1]

In fact, the history of Athens is, in one sense, the history of all Greece; perhaps, we might say, of the whole world during a certain period. Fraught with political changes the most exciting, and exercising an influence that imperceptibly diffused itself, though not always under the same form, throughout the civilized world, Athens is the centre of ancient constitutional

[1] Greece, p. 67, sqq.

study. At Athens, history finds examples of every variety of legislature; furnishes specimens of their respective effects; and, in a word, teaches almost all that every other history can teach, whether it regards the private or social condition of man.

At the same time, amid this universality of example, we must be prepared to find much that is revolting to the best feelings of reason or humanity. Like all other states, Athens possessed the same corroding influences which suppurated her vital energies, and extinguished the glorious breath of that love of freedom which a Byron could sigh for, but not call back into the lovely corpse of dead, degraded Hellas. Corruption at elections, love of place, and scandalous, openly-professed, and avowedly-tolerated immorality, were the base successors to the honest independence of the olden time, the healthy limited monarchy, or stedfast and impartial democracy, and the grave hardihood of the sons of Codrus. Add to this, the degeneracy in regard to religious feeling, and the consequent oblivion of the rights of men. "It is the glory," says Heeren, "of the Greeks, that they honoured the nobler feelings of humanity, where other nations were unmindful of them. They flourished so long as they possessed self-government enough to do this; they fell when sacred things ceased to be sacred."[1]

In contemplating the early history of Attica, we are as much beset by difficulties, as in any of the other early states and cities of the human race. Mythology is at work, and in fantastical stories about Poseidon (Neptune), Athéné (Minerva), Erichthonius, and a variety of other heroes and heroines, locally and religiously connected with this soil, we are struck with the incongruities, whilst we are delighted by the charms, of early Grecian history. An endless field of poetical narrative unfolds itself in the writings of the Athenian stage; Scholiasts of a later date, and compilers of popular myths, astound us by the rich diversity of

[1] Athens, i. p. 18.

their stories of early Athens; and it is but occasionally that one distinctly-marked feature of likelihood stands out from the mass of pretty uncertainties and fictitious plausibilities, and literally surprises us by its resemblance to truth.

When we look at the hero-like, yet symmetrical proportions of the Theseus[1] in the Elgin collection, we feel some regret at finding that the original is as doubtful a character in real history, as his marble neighbour the Ilissus, the old river-god—the god of that stream, along the banks of which, amid the shades of the Academy, Socrates and Plato strolled in search of truth. Yet the legend of Theseus has a vitality that distinguishes him from the merely symbolical benefactors

[1] I am aware, however, that doubts have been entertained whether this statue really represents Theseus, or not. Visconti prefers considering it as Hercules.—See Elgin Marbles, ii. p. 4, sq. Vaux (Handbook to the British Museum, p. 41) is inclined to favour the old opinion. The following remarks on the alleged removal of the bones of Theseus by Cimon (B.C. 465), deserve notice.—

"It would seem not improbable that it was with some view of attaching the people of Attica to complete and embellish their ruined metropolis, that a prudent statesman formed the idea of recurring to the traditional origin of their social system, and of making the revival of the name of Theseus serviceable to some project of more importance. The Panathenaic festival which had been instituted by Theseus, when the separate communities of Athens were united under one tutelary deity, Athena, had indeed, as we learn from the history of Hippias, been continued as the great national festival. This, however, must have been interrupted during the Persian wars; and was probably neglected till the return of peace, security, and increasing wealth led to the celebration of the festival in its ancient splendour, and the revival of the memory of Theseus by building his temple (B.C. 465). At a somewhat later period, we may suppose that additional splendour was given to this festival, as the representation of it forms the subject of the frieze of the Parthenon."—Elgin Marbles, i. p. 44. I may add, that Wachsmuth, whose scepticism is more moderate than that of many critics, considers Theseus as "the representative of a new order of things, which united all the inhabitants of Attica by means of common and legal bonds."—Political Antiquities, i. p. 336. The "Ilissus" is probably the "Cephisus," as its geographical position would seem to indicate.

of the human race. Like another Hercules, or Amadis de Gaul, his exploits have been made the subject of almost boundless exaggeration, and they have been pointed out as worthy objects of imitation by those who were with reason dissatisfied with the languid inertness of their own times. But although we cannot fix the standard of our belief in its fitting and just proportion, we must not withdraw credit from the report which represents Theseus as the king under whose banner the scattered towns of Attica ranged themselves, and round whose capital city, Athens, they were persuaded to consolidate their resources for purposes of common interest and defence.

But, with our narrow limits, we must rather seek to point out the gradual progress of Athens to the greatness we shall briefly describe, than to dwell upon the manifold difficulties and obscurities of her early history.

The Trojan war, that diverting source of chivalric wonders, which has furnished materials for, we might almost say, the whole cycle of Greek epic poetry, produced strange influences on the condition and prospects of the Greeks. When I speak of the Trojan war, some persons will, perhaps, cry out that I have no right to assume even the existence of what has been so hotly disputed and so doubtfully settled. All I can reply is, that I find too much pleasure in the belief of a Trojan war, and too much self-conviction that the whole mass of Greek literature must remain a riddle upon any other hypothesis—to adopt any of the tortuous casuistries respecting the Homeric poems, or the chronological dogmatisms which are, to the present day, one hopeless drawback in the power of forming correct estimates on such matters.

I do not mean to infer that even the carrying off of Helen was a true story in all its details, especially when Thucydides[1] has furnished us with so much better reasons for Agamemnon's attack upon Troy.

[1] Thucyd. l. 9.

But I must maintain that truth ever holds the candle to legend. Our disbelief of the copies of our Saviour's miracles in the middle ages are not even an *ex parte* argument against the credibility of the originals, nor, because Lucan and Silius Italicus have respectively interwoven a multitude of prodigies and impossibilities with their poems on the Civil and Punic wars of Rome, have I any right to infer that those wars had as little real existence as the journey of the chapel of Loretto.

The truth respecting these half legendary expeditions of the early ages of Greece, seems to have been well stated by Heeren, who regards them as intimately connected with the theory of colonization. A free-booting crusade like the Argonautic expedition, and similar adventurous expeditions, themselves half-piratical, undertaken against pirates by Minos, as well as a large number of the Post-Troical exploits, all paved the way to losing the direct succession in old patriarchal governments, by the death of the chief; to liberalising the home policy by urging the claims of rising colonies and provinces; and to placing the old kingly power gradually in other hands, and on a more democratic footing. Indeed, the prestige for particular rulers was lost by death, or taken from them by the growing progress of public opinion, and the tendency of society to self-reform. Heeren well describes the consequences of this systematic change throughout Greece, at the same time marking its more gradual development in reference to Athens:—

"A new order of things was the necessary consequence. The ancient ruling families died away of themselves, or lost their power. But this did not take place in all or most of the Grecian cities at one time, but very gradually; and he who should speak of a general political revolution in the modern phrase would excite altogether erroneous conceptions. As far as we can judge from the imperfect accounts which remain of the history of the several states, more than a century elapsed before the change was complete.

We cannot fix the period of it in all: it happened, however, in most of them between the years 900 and 700 before Christ; in others in two centuries immediately succeeding the Doric emigration. In several, as in Athens, it was brought about by degrees. In that city, when the royal dignity was abolished at the death of Codrus, archons, differing little from kings, were appointed from his family for life; these were followed by archons chosen for ten years; and those last continued for seventy years, till the yearly election of a college of archons finally established a democracy.

"The fruit of these changes was the establishment of free constitutions for the cities; which constitutions could prosper only with the increasing prosperity of the towns. Thucydides has described to us, in an admirable manner, the way in which this happened. 'In those times,' says he, 'no important war which could give a great ascendency to individual states was carried on; the wars which chanced to arise were only with the nearest neighbours.' Though tranquillity was thus sometimes interrupted, the increase of the cities could not be retarded. 'But since colonies were established beyond the sea, several of the cities began to apply themselves to navigation and commerce; and the intercourse kept up with them afforded mutual advantages. The cities,' continues Thucydides, "became more powerful and more wealthy; but then usurpers arose in most of them, who sought only to confirm their own power and enrich their own families, but performed no great exploits until they were overthrown, not long before the Persian wars, by the Spartans (who, amidst all these disturbances, were never subjected to tyrants) and the Athenians.'" [1]

Involved in great doubt is the story of king Codrus, here alluded to. He is said to have devoted himself for the good of Athens in a war with the Dorians, who had invaded

[1] Thucyd. l. 13—15. Heeren, Greece, ch. v. p. 90.

the northern peninsula, but found themselves repulsed when they attempted to invade the frontiers of Athens.[1] One tradition asserts that, after his reign, the kingly power ceased, and that while an aristocratic oligarchy was substituted; the throne of the dead hero was left vacant, in testimony to his patriotism.[2]

But, as was destined hereafter to take place in the rising commonwealth of Rome, the higher class of the commons kept increasing in wealth, and that wealth was fostered by the success of the colonies which continually went forth from the mother-city. But whilst a dislike to the aristocracy was augmented on their part by their increased capabilities of displaying it, it was widely different with the poorer classes, who became oppressed with debt, and whose free rights were consequently and proportionately crippled. Infamy,[3] or, in a more restricted sense, disfranchisement, was the penalty with which debt, often the result of misfortune, was visited; and the loss of the privileges of a free agent led in some instances to cruelties that loudly called for an amelioration of the existing system.

The laws of Draco are known chiefly by their proverbial severity; but, while they may have served to repress some of the open outrages, to which the struggles between the wealthier commons and the aristocracy would give rise, they were of little avail in sheltering the poor and uninfluential from the aggressions and neglect of their superiors. Indeed, the laws of Draco appear to have gone upon a broad principle of severity, little adapted to that self-reforming progress which is the surest evidence of social improvement. We scarcely know to what extent they were carried

[1] Justin, ii. 6. Vell. Paterc. i. 2. Cicero Tusc. Q. i. 48.

[2] But Pausanius, vi. 2, states that the sons of Codrus themselves quarrelled about the kingdom, and that it was decided by an oracle in favour of Medon, the other sons being exiled. But the archonship was probably the form of power which excited the dispute, as we find the name of Medon first on the list of Archons.—See Wachsmuth, i. p. 358.

[3] *Ἀτιμία.*

out; but a limited experience in our own times is sufficient to shew the inefficiency of capital punishments in repressing the amount of crime and misdemeanor.

Amid such an imperfect code of laws, and so corrupt a state of society, Solon appeared as the grand reformer of abuses, legal and social.[1] Wachsmuth, a first-rate antiquarian, has given so excellent an account of the leading work of reformation under this great, and, one rejoices to think, historical personage, that we present it to our readers without hesitation:—

"Equity and moderation are described by the ancients as the characteristics of his mind; he determined to abolish the privileges of particular classes, and the arbitrary power of officers, and to render all the participtions as in civil and political freedom equal in the eye of the law, at the same time ensuring to every one the integrity of those rights to which his real merits entitled him; on the other hand, he was far from contemplating a total subversion of existing regulations; for that reason he left many institutions, for example, Draco's laws on murder, in full force, or most wisely suffered them to exist in form, whilst the old and decayed substance was carefully extracted and replaced by sound materials. Whatever was excellent in prescription was incorporated with the new laws, and thereby stamped afresh; but prescription as such, with the exception of some unwritten religious ordinances of the Eumolpids, was deprived of force. The law was destined to be the sole centre whence every member of the political community was to derive a fixed rule of conduct, secured against the vicissitudes of arbitrary power by the clear and explicit character of its precepts.

"The chief power was vested in the collective people; but, in order that it might be exercised with advantage, it was necessary that they should be endowed with common rights of citizenship. Solon

[1] The date of Solon's archonship is Ol. 46, i.

effected this by raising the lower class from its degradation, and by rendering the liberty of both dependent upon the law. The essential properties of citizenship consisted in the share possessed by every citizen in the legislature; the election of magistrates, as well as the scrutiny of their conduct, and the execution of the laws by the courts of justice. This change was brought about by two ordinances, which must not be regarded as mere remedies for the abuses of that period, but as the permanent basis of free and legal citizenship. The one was the Seisachtheia; this was enacted by Solon to afford relief to oppressed debtors, by reducing their debts in amount, and by raising the value of money in the payment of interest and principle; at the same time he abrogated the former rigorous law of debt by which the freemen might be reduced to servitude, and thus secured to him the unmolested possession of his legal rights. Moreover, it may be confidently asserted, that the Seisachtheia was accompanied by the conversion of those estates, which had hitherto been held of the nobility, by the payment of a fixed rent, into independent freehold property; thus domiciliation, and the possession of freehold property, were the mainsprings of Solon's citizenship. A second ordinance enjoined that their full and entire right should be restored to all citizens who had incurred Atimia,[1] except to absolute criminals. This was not only destined to heal the wounds which had been caused by the previous dissensions, but as till that time the law of debt had been able to reduce citizens to Atimia, and the majority of the Atimoi pointed out by Solon were slaves for debt, that declaration stood in close connection with the Seisachtheia, and had the effect of a proclamation from the State of its intention to guarantee the validity of the new citizenship. Hence, the sacred right would no longer be forfeited through the operation of private laws, but through the commission of such offences only as immediately regarded the public; on the other side,

[1] *i. e.* Disfranchisement, infamy.

indeed, upon the principle of full right for full services, the non-performance of a public duty might be followed by Atimia, or by the restriction or privation of the full rights of citizenship, and it frequently happened, even without the formality of a judicial sentence, that the neglect of an obligation to the State involved heavier penalties than a crime itself."[1]

Such was the system of policy which made men respect the civil institutions of their country by teaching them self-consideration. Where every man felt himself a part of the institutions he was bound to uphold, his duty as a citizen became a natural act of self-importance, not the compulsory testimony of obedience; where citizenship was held out as the motive, not for aggrandizing a family by the purchase of influence, but for contributing to maintaining a power in the preservation of which each father of a family felt himself interested, the best principles of democracy might be said to be in full force. It was not by an unbridled onslaught on the property and privileges of the class whose ancestral renown could scarcely be forgotten even in a democracy; it was not by indiscriminately giving away both means and privileges to those who had nothing; but it was by making each class of sufficient consequence to be respectable in the eyes of the other; and by rendering respectability an attribute of character and zeal, not debasing it to a slang word for property and county influence, that Solon sought to re-model Athens.

Framed with an equal regard to the well-being of all, were the new laws respecting the naturalization of aliens, the better treatment of the Metœci, and even an amelioration of the condition of the slaves. Our limits do not permit us to give a full account of the various reforms worked in these respects, but the following remarks, from the pen of the author above quoted, will give an excellent idea of the change in the share of power possessed by each citizen :—

[1] Wachsmuth, i. p. 366, sqq.

"With reference to a share in the supreme power, the citizenship must first be considered in its largest extent, as a common possession, of which the lowest persons were not deprived, and which varied in degree according to age; and secondly, in connection with those rights which proceeded from a difference of valuation. Every citizen had a right to speak in the popular assembly, and to judge, upon oath, in the courts; but the former of these rights might be exercised at an earlier age than the latter. Upon attaining the age of puberty, the sons of citizens entered public life under the name of Ephebi. The State gave them two years for the full development of their youthful strength, and the practice of those exercises which might ensure its efficient dedication to the most important duty of a citizen, viz. the service of arms. Upon the expiration of the second, and, according to the most authentic accounts, in their eighteenth year, they received the shield and spear in the popular assembly, complete armour being given to the sons of those who had fallen in battle, and in the temple of Agraulos took the oath of young citizens, the chief obligation of which concerned the defence of their country;[1] and then for the space of one or two years performed military service in the Attic border fortresses, under the name of Peripoli.[2] The ceremony of arming them was followed by enrolment in the book which contained the names of those who had attained majority; this empowered the young citizen to manage his fortune, preside over a household, enter the popular assembly, and speak. When he asserts the last right, namely, the Isegoria,[3] Parrhesia,[4] he was denominated Rhetor,[5] and this appellation denoted the difference between him and the silent members of the assembly,

[1] This oath is given in Pollux, Onomast. viii. 25.

[2] A word nearly answering to our "police," or rather, "coast-guard."

[3] Equal liberty of speaking as the other members.

[4] *i. e.* freedom of speech.

[5] A public speaker, not in its bad sense.

the Idiotes;[1] but the speakers were not singled out from the rest of the members in the manner of a corporation, or particular order, or the character of regular functionaries. What was called the Dokimasia[2] of the Rhetors was not a scrutiny of office, but a measure which was adopted in case a citizen, who had forfeited the right of speaking in consequence of Atimia, presumed to exercise it, and it required to be preceded by a special motion to that effect. That this Dokimasia is, in the ancient authors, so frequently classed with that of the Archons and Strategi, must be explained from the growing political importance of oratory, which imparted a sort of official character, like that of legally-elected military commanders, and civil functionaries, to the self-constituted demagogues of the day.

"Moreover, after oratory began to be studied systematically, the word Rhetor became confined to the class of professed sophists, Autoschediasts[3] becoming comparatively rare, and a marked line being drawn between them and the remaining mass. Finally, the order of speaking depended upon age; those who were more than fifty years old being entitled to speak first. Upon attaining his thirtieth year, the citizen might assert his superior rights; he was qualified for a member of the sworn tribunal, entitled the Heliæa.[4] For this purpose it was requisite to take a new oath in the open place called Ardettus,[5] which chiefly related to civil duties generally; but its conclusion prescribed judicial obligations. This must be distinguished from the short oath which it was necessary to take before a court of any description could be held. The word Heliast, does not merely signify a judge, but the citizen who has fully attained maturity, and whose superior

[1] *i. e.* private persons. [2] Investigation, scrutiny.

[3] This word signifies an extemporaneous speaker, and sometimes a fluent or ready person, who has the "gift of the gab."

[4] From ἡλιος, the sun, so called because the court was held in a place open to the sky.

[5] *Probably* from a hero of that name.

right is proclaimed in the performance of juridical functions, as the most important public agency of which he is capable, as the rights of younger citizens are implied by the act of public speaking. The judges of the courts of the Diætetæ[1] and Ephætæ,[2] which existed without the circle of the ordinary tribunal, were required to be still older men than the Heliasts, viz. fifty or sixty years of age.

"Solon appointed gradations in the rights of citizenship, according to the conditions of a census in reference to the offices of State, which, although not in themselves modifications of the highest legislative and judicial power, nevertheless exercised a most important influence upon it as advising and directing authorities. Upon the principle of a conditional equality of rights, which assigns to every one as much as he deserves, and which is highly characteristic of Solon's policy in general, he instituted four classes according to a valuation; these were the Pentacosiomedimni,[3] the Hippeis,[4] the Zeugitæ,[5] and the Thetes.[6] The valuation, however, only affected that portion of capital from which contributions to the State burthens were required, consequently, according to Böckh, a taxable capital.

"This counteracts the unworthy notion that this regulation was intended to raise wealth itself in the scale of importance, and serves to exhibit its real object, which was to impose that burthen which unpaid offices of State might prove to needy persons, on such as could administer them without prejudice to their domestic relations, so that a person who was declared eligible could only be dispensed from it by means of an oath, and thus to guard the State against the effect of that pernicious cupidity which is so

[1] *i. e.* Arbitrators. [2] Commissioners.

[3] Those rated at property = 500 bushels "wet and dry," says Pollux, viii. 10, p. 408.

[4] Knights, or those capable of keeping horses; they were rated at 300 bushels.

[5] A word of uncertain origin: they were rated at 200 bushels.

[6] The lowest (or *servile*) class, incapable of office.

frequently combined with indigence; it was, at the same time, a means to reward the citizen, who was obliged to satisfy the higher claims of the State, by the enjoyment of corresponding rights. The Thetes, the last of these classes, were not regularly summoned to perform military service, but only exercised the civic right as members of the assembly and the law courts; the second and third, from which the infantry and cavalry were chosen, likewise acted as functionaries, and when irreproachable in other respects, and according to the conditions of the census, sat in the council of the four hundred; whilst the highest class exclusively supplied the superior offices—such as the archonship, and through this the council of the Areopagus."[1]

But the reform worked by Solon built too much upon the better feelings of mankind, to remain undisturbed; "evil passions," as Wachsmuth pithily remarks, "could not be subdued by ideas;"[2] and disputes began to renew the ancient differences between the different classes; and the lower order, ill satisfied with the legal rights and privileges they had obtained, and readily alive to the deadly and perverting influence of bribery, fell an easy prey to the plausible impositions of Pisistratus, who, although repeatedly expelled, had built his hopes of success too surely on the stupidity of mankind to fail of ultimate success. Nor can Pisistratus be regarded as a mere tyrant, in the modern sense of the word. Desirous of supporting the institutions of Solon, himself submissive to the laws of the country, the patron of art and letters, he merely seized the opportunity that Athenian weakness had furnished, but did not abuse it.

Nevertheless, the Athenians had done wrong. They had lost their noble horror of absolute power—a power which was ill-adapted to their social character or position. However, upon the expulsion of the sons

[1] Wachsmuth, i. p. 372, sqq. [2] Ibid. i. p. 393.

of Pisistratus, forty-one years after the commencement of the tyranny, factions broke out anew, and a fresh reformer appeared in the person of Clisthenes the Alcmæonid, about 508 B.C. The main feature of the new system thus introduced consisted in the formation of ten new tribes in lieu of the four ancient ones. Aristotle[1] considers this arrangement as essentially democratic, because the dissolution of ancient connections, and the greater mixture of the citizens, are calculated to promote the introduction of democracy. "It is not," therefore, "so much to the increase in the number of the tribes, as to the abolition of institutions which were connected with the ancient ones, but which impeded the progress of democracy, that we should direct our attention as to the most prominent feature in the changes of Clisthenes."[2]

And now Athens was fairly on the road to the glory in which we shall shortly describe her. We have already alluded[3] to the spirited conduct of the Athenians, in repressing the forces of the Persians in their attempt to enslave Greece. "The Athenians were left almost alone to repel the first invasion of Darius Hystaspis; but the glory won at Marathon was not sufficient to create a general enthusiasm, when greater danger threatened them from the invasion of Xerxes. . . . . So true is the remark of Herodotus, that, however ill it might be taken by others, he was compelled to declare that Greece was indebted for its freedom to Athens. Athens, with Themistocles for its leader, gave life and courage to the other states; yielded, where it was its duty to yield; and always relied on its own strength, while it seemed to expect safety from all. Her hopes were not disappointed in the result; the battle of Salamis gave a new impulse to the spirit of the Greeks; and when, in the following year, the battle of Platæa decided the contest, the

[1] Polit. vi. 4, 11. [2] Wachsmuth, i. p. 396.
[3] In the article on Sardis.

greater part of Greece was assembled on the field of battle."[1]

But Athens, the saviour of Greece, was yet destined to become a step-mother to those whom she had fostered through dangers and difficulties which her almost romantic heroism had so successfully overcome. The influence acquired from the renown gained by her exertions during the Persian war, was turned into a means of aggression; and the consciousness of power tempted her to acts of despotism. The Peloponnesian war (431 B.C.) aroused the whole of the Dorian and Æolian states against her; and although, despite the horrors of a terrific pestilence, and the revolt of her Ionian subjects, the naval skill of her seamen, and the valiant enterprise of her commander, proved a match for so alarming a confederacy, still, the fairest days of Athens were gone: she had abused her mighty resources, and her power was rapidly departing from her.

Sparta and Thebes made as ill use of the influence they in turn acquired at a subsequent period; and, with Athens, fell a prey to the crafty and calculating schemes of Philip of Macedon. In vain did a Demosthenes invoke their attention; fruitlessly did he strive to rally to the field the listless flock who "sat talking and asking questions"[2] in the forum. The Athenians were fast degenerating into an almost Albanian indolence, a state from which she never recovered. "With the loss of civil liberty, Athens lost her genius, her manly mind, and whatever remained of her virtue: she long continued to produce talents, which were too often made tools of iniquity, panders to power, and petty artificers of false philosophy."[3]

Before mentioning a few of the long list of great men who have adorned the name of Athens throughout the annals of history, we will give as complete a sketch

[1] Heeren, Greece, p. 124, sqq.
[2] Demosth. Philipp. i. sub. init.
[3] F. W. Newman in Kitto's Cyclopædia, i. p. 254

of the city of Athens in her greatness and her downfall, as our limits will allow. We will follow Wordsworth as a guide:—

"In order to obtain a distinct notion of the natural characteristics of the spot to which we refer, let us consider it, in the first place, as abstracted from artificial modifications:—let us imagine ourselves as existing in the days of Cecrops, and looking upon the site of Athens. In a wide plain, which is enclosed by mountains, except on the south, where it is bounded by the sea, rises a flat oblong rock, lying from east to west, about fifty yards high, rather more than 160 broad and 300 in length. It is inaccessible on all sides but the west, on which it is approached by a steep slope. This is the future Acropolis, or Citadel of Athens. We place ourselves upon this eminence, and cast our eyes about us. Immediately on the west is a second hill, of irregular form, lower than that on which we stand, and opposite to it. This is the Areopagus. Beneath it, on the south-west, is a valley, neither deep nor narrow, open both at the north-west and south-east. Here was the Agora, or public place of Athens. Above it, to the south-west, rises another hill, formed, like the two others already mentioned, of hard and rugged limestone, clothed here and there with a scanty covering of herbage. On this hill the popular assemblies of the future citizens of Athens will be held. It will be called the Pnyx. To the south of it is a fourth hill of similar kind, known in after ages as the Museum. Thus a group of four hills is presented to our view, which nearly enclose the space wherein the Athenian Agora existed, as the Forum of Rome lay between the hills of the Capitol and the Palatine.

"Beyond the plain, to the south-west, the sea is visible, distant about four miles from this central rock. On the coast are three bays,—the future harbours of Athens,—the Phalerum, Munychia, and Piræus; the first being the nearest to us, the last the most distant from our present position. Toward the coast, and in

the direction of these ports, run two small streams, both coming from the north-east; the one on the south side of us passing us at a distance of half a mile, the other on the north, at the distance of two: they do not reach the shore, but are lost in the intermediate plain. The former is the Ilissus, the latter the Cephisus. To the north of the former, and at a mile distance to the north-east of the Acropolis, is a rocky conical hill, of considerable height, and one of the most striking features of the scenery of Athens. This is Mount Lycabettus. Regarding, then, the hill of the Acropolis as the centre of the future city of Athens, we have, as its natural frontiers to the north and south, two rivers, while on the east and west it is bounded by hills; its limit on the east being the mountain of Lycabettus, and on the west the lower range, which consists of the Pnyx and the Museum. Such is a brief sketch of the physical features which distinguish the site of the Athenian city.

"We now quit the period of remote antiquity, when the soil of the future Athens was either untenanted or occupied only by a few rude and irregular buildings, and pass at once to the time when it had attained that splendour which made it, in literature and art, the metropolitan city of the world. A more striking contrast than that which is presented by the appearance of the same spot at these two different epochs, cannot well be imagined.

"No longer, therefore, as contemporaries of the ancient kings of Attica, but existing, in imagination, in the age of Pericles and of his immediate successors, we now contemplate this city as it then exhibited itself to the age. First, we direct our attention to the central rock of the Acropolis. And let us here suppose ourselves as joining at this period that splendid procession of minstrels, priests, and victims, of horsemen and of chariots, which ascended to that place at the quinquennial solemnity of the Great Panathenæa. Atop above the heads of the trains, the sacred Peplos, raised

and stretched like a sail upon a mast, waves in the air: it is variegate l with an embroidered tissue of battles, of giants, and of Gods: it will be carried to the temple of the Minerva Polias in the Citadel, whose statue it is intended to adorn. In the bright season of summer, on the 28th day of the Athenian month Hecatombæon, let us mount with this procession to the western slope of the Acropolis. Toward the termination of its course, we are brought in face of a colossal fabric of white marble, which crowns the brow of the steep, and stretches itself from north to south across the whole western front of the Citadel, which is about 170 feet in breadth.

"The centre of this fabric consists of a portico 60 feet broad, and formed of six fluted columns of the Doric order, raised upon four steps, and intersected by a road passing through the midst of the columns, which are thirty feet in height, and support a noble pediment. From this portico, two wings project about thirty feet to the west, each having three columns on the side nearest the portico in the centre.

"The architectural mouldings of the fabric glitter in the sun with brilliant tints of red and blue: in the centre, the coffers of its soffits are spangled with stars, and the *antæ* of the wings are fringed with an azure embroidery of ivy leaf.

"We pass along the avenue lying between the two central columns of the portico, and through a corridor leading from it, and formed by three Ionic columns on each hand, and are brought in front of five doors of bronze; the centre one, which is the loftiest and broadest, being immediately before us.

"This structure which we are describing is the Propylæa or vestibule of the Athenian citadel. It is built of Pentelic marble. In the year 437 B.C., it was commenced, and was completed by the architect Mnesicles in five years from that time. Its termination, therefore, coincides very nearly with the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.

"After a short pause, in order to contemplate the objects around us, to explore the gallery, adorned with the paintings of Polygnotus, in the left wing of the Propylæa, and to visit the temple of Victory on the right, which possesses four Ionic columns on its western, and four at its eastern end, thus being approached by two facades, and whose frieze is sculptured with figures of Persians and of Greeks fighting on the plain of Marathon, we return to the marble corridor of the Propylæa.

"We will now imagine that the great bronze doors of which we have spoken as standing at the termination of this gallery are thrown back upon their hinges, to admit the riders and charioteers, and all that long and magnificent array of the Panathenaic procession, which stretches back from this spot to the area of the Agora at the western foot of the Citadel. We behold through this vista the interior of the Athenian Acropolis. We pass under the gateway before us, and enter its precincts, surrounded on all sides by massive walls; we tread the soil on which the greatest men of the ancient world have walked, and behold buildings ever admired and imitated, and never equalled in beauty. We stand on the platform which is above the Temple, the Fortress, and the Museum of Athens."[1]

[1] Wordsworth's Greece, p. 132-8. I wish I could transfer the illustrations of this agreeable book to my own pages. But the object of my little treatise is to send my reader in quest of better. I cannot help comparing the following description of the Acropolis in its modern state:—

"The Acropolis crowns an abrupt and rocky hill, about five miles from the sea, and the ancient city spread around its base, and over some other hills of the same nature to the south and west, but the modern town is clustered principally on the north-eastern side of the citadel. These hills though steep and rugged towards the top, slope gently at their bases into a fertile plain, watered by the Cephisus, at the distance of about half a mile from Athens. The upper part of this low tract is covered with olives; but towards the Piræus (which stands on a separate cluster of eminences) it is marshy. The Ilissus passes close by the town among the hills, but even at this season it is

A notice of the Acropolis, on or around which all the most magnificent and important buildings of Athens were collected, is naturally followed by some remarks on the state of the arts in the golden era of this city of the world. I shall follow Heeren,[2] classifying the arts, as architecture, sculpture, and painting.

Between the rough Cyclopæan walls at Mycenæ and the polished marble structures of the Acropolis, we discern as great a distance, whether in lapse of years or of progress in style; yet even in the poems of Homer we meet with enough of architectural detail to cause the antiquarian considerable difficulty, and at the same time prove that the simplicity of

a dry channel, without water, except at one place, where a little spring rising at the foot of some marble rocks which crosses the channel, is supposed to be the fountain Callirhoe or Enneacrune, and serves for one of the washing places of the inhabitants; but whether the name be rightly given to it or not, it is I believe, only the appearance of a little thread of water which the hollow actually contains a little higher up, and is speedily lost again amongst loose stones and rocks of mica-slate. Yet this part of the rock is marked by several artificial channels for water, and evidently polished by its action, and there are likewise other similar channels higher up, and unconnected with the bed of the river. The opposite slope of the ravine was once crowned by a little Ionic temple; but that has now disappeared, nothing remaining but the foundations of the semicircular apsis, added to make it a church. About a mile above the town, a small current is led away from the bed of the Ilissus, to supply modern Athens, but all together would fall far short of the contents of a London gutter after a shower. The Cephisus is said to present in its upper part a copious and beautiful stream of excellent water, but it diminishes as it descends, partly, from being diverted for the purposes of cultivation, and partly perhaps, from the loose nature of the soil. We were told that even in winter this larger river does not reach the sea, but this is calumny, for it forms a pool between Cape Colias and Munychia, whence a stream passes into the Saronic Gulf, which I could hardly cross without getting wetshod."—Wood's "Letters of an Architect," i. p. 230, sq.

[2] Greece. Homer's architectural remarks are at times sufficiently detailed to be very difficult. Compare, for example, my note on Odyss. xxii. p. 299, n. 8. (Bohn's Classical Library).

early Grecian structures was not so great as may have been supposed. But there is a certain definite style of architecture, of which we fortunately possess not only the models, but the theory, and with such examples as it presents, the Acropolis has been the favourite school of imitation for the architect and sculptor.

Heeren has well remarked, in reference to the Heroic ages, that "in the dwellings and halls of the kings there prevailed a certain grandeur and splendour which, however, we can hardly designate by the name of scientific architecture."[1] When, however, the current of popular feeling began to run in favour of equality of rights, and an almost universal participation in the government, these differences in private dwellings were looked upon as invidious distinctions, and to build a large and splendid house became an infringement upon popular liberty.[2]

Hence Athens possessed few fine streets. Unlike our own modern houses, architectural regularity was little cultivated, and the materials were simple and inexpensive. "The splendour of the city was not perceived till the public squares and the Acropolis were approached. The small dwellings of Themistocles and Aristides were long pointed out; and the building of large houses was looked upon as a proof of pride."

Hence, even at a late period,[3] when luxury had given rise to larger houses and more expensive establishments, we still find the application of architectural symmetry confined to temples, and subsequently to the theatres, porticoes, and gymnasia. Even these, however, may be regarded as forming part of the religious structure of Athens. So intimately was the drama connected with the sacred rites of Bacchus, that we

[1] Greece, p. 281, sqq.

[2] Compare the instance of Valerius Publicola pulling down the house he had erected on the Velian hill, "ne specie arcis offenderet." Florus, i. 9; Liv. ii. 7.

[3] As at Pompeii.

are at once struck with the similar coincidence in the origin of our own dramatic literature from the rude "mysteries" of the middle ages.

To describe the temples which cluster about the precincts of Athens were an endless task. Noble are the proportions of the columns, varied the devices on the friezes, telling whole histories of the heroes whose greatness and whose services had deserved these permanent though exaggerated memorials, and celebrating alternately the loves and battles of those gods whom they had raised from their fanciful conceptions of ennobled humanity.

Is there less of symbolism in the Grecian than in the Oriental temple? Undoubtedly not. But it is of a less grotesque, of a more refined and poetical character. And it is so in natural objects. Each stream has its legend of hapless youth, of maiden "who had loved not wisely, but too well;" of nymph wafted to realms of love and bliss athwart the breath of the amorous zephyr. Where Plato muses, where Socrates prates casuistry against casuistry; there glides the Ilissus—that gentle stream which he dared not enter before he had appeased the god of love, whom his invectives had offended.[1] There did his guardian spirit, that pleasing riddle to Platonists, hinder the hasty words of its talkative master.[2] As we follow the little stream in its humble course, the air seems peopled with the ghosts of the martyr philosopher and his disciples; the spirits of the waters seem to join chorus, and, as we look at the ruined prospect before us, we feel thankful that a Plato still lives imperishably in his writings—that legacy which is its own title-deed.

Nor was the Grecian character unobservant of the charm of such associations. As the inhabitants of Chios[3] rejoiced in pointing out the rock benches on

[1] See Plato, Phædr. sub. init. p. 337, and p. 349, ed. Læm.
[2] Cf. Apul. de Deo Socrat. § 20.
[3] See Voyage Pittoresque de la Grece, i. p. 92, and Chandler's Travels, i. p. 61.

which Homer sat and discussed in song. so did the Athenians yearn with affection for each spot that had been the scene of bygone glories, where the heart had warmed with impulse, the imagination expanded in the sublimity of poetry, or the reason descended into its own innermost depths in quest of as-oft-receding certainty. Even the plane-tree that Socrates had loved, that Plato had celebrated, and which has furnished a dozen declaimers with descriptions, was shewn with delight in the days of Tully.[1]

But all the poetry of Athens, whether sculptured on the legends of the friezes of the Parthenon, pealing forth in the sublime choruses of the Attic tragedians, or varying the heavy quaintness of Socratic discussions with fiction, happily and humorously explained; all the solemn grandeur of her temples, the learned gloom of her porticoes, and the costly magnificence of her theatrical representations; these all derived their vitality and character from the grand principle by which each man was taught to hold, and contribute to the existence of one common good, in the well-being of which his own self-preservation was concerned. Poetry, literature, and art were not, as amongst so many modern states, the profession of a few persons of half-recognised standing, whose knowledge, by being imperfectly imparted at certain prices, may atone for the ignorance and tastelessness of a listless aristocracy. The threadbare boorishness of Sparta, with her contracted policy and soul-fatiguing discipline, falls into the shade, in this respect, before the poetical people of Athens.

To the same public spirit was it due, that works of art were not executed for the limited purpose of adorning the staircases of the nobility, but as votive offerings, or gifts to the public; attesting at once the liberality of the giver, and the public spirit which enshrined each pet gem of art in the sanctuaries of the gods, or in the public buildings where every man might

[1] Cicero de Legg. i. sub. init.

admire, as he trafficked in the ordinary business of life.

"The great masters," says our lately-quoted authority, "were chiefly in the employ of the public. The community, either directly or through its leaders, as we learn from the instance of Pericles, either ordered works of art, or bought them ready made, to ornament the city and public buildings. We have distinct evidence that the great masterpieces of Phidias, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, had this origin. Thus were produced the Jupiter of Olympia, the Minerva Polias at Athens, by Phidias; the Venus at Cnidus and at Cos, by Praxiteles; the Colossus of Rhodes, by Lysippus. Yet numerous as were the applications of cities, the immense multitude of statues could not be accounted for, unless the piety and vanity of individuals had come to their assistance.

"The first assisted by the votive offerings, of which all the celebrated temples were full. These were not always works of art, being as often mere costly presents. Yet the collection of statues and pictures which belonged to those temples, consisted, for the most part, of votive offerings. But these were as often the tribute of gratitude from whole cities as from individuals."[1]

"Painting, from its very nature, seems to have been more designed for private use. Yet, in the age of Pericles, when the great masters in this art appeared in Athens, it was hardly less publicly applied than the art of sculpture. It was in the public porticoes and temples that Polygnotus, Micon, and others, exhibited the productions of their genius. No trace is to be found of celebrated private pictures in those times. Yet portrait-painting seems peculiarly to belong to private life. This branch of the art was certainly cultivated among the Greeks; but not until the Macedonian age. The likenesses of celebrated men were placed in the pictures which commemorated their actions; as

[1] Heeren, *ibid.* p. 286.

[illegible] IN THE ANCIENT WORLD.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

to the light; in the hands of Æschylus, the tragic muse strode along in haughty sublimity, struggling with the words that could scarce give expression to thoughts almost beyond language—at one time pealing forth the shout of victory over the Persian foe, at another gloomily bemoaning the destinies impending the Atrean house, or, in language worthy to be carved on the smooth surface of some lightning-rent precipice, describing the God-defying prowess of the rock-bound Titan, and rivalling the convulsions of nature while he details them.

In quieter gait walks Sophocles. His sublimity is attempered with sweetness; and we draw nigh to his magnificence, while we are allured by its solemn tenderness. The "Attic bee" is more loveable than his great predecessor—yet no less glorious.

Third and last, in time and rank, trips along the flighty, ingenious Euripides; now drawing tears by some unlooked-for outburst of pathos, now frittering away his chastened Greek in dogmatic scepticism or casuistic selfishness. We like Euripides, we admire him sometimes—but there praise must end.

What shall we say of dear, wicked, scandalous Aristophanes, with his "screaming" parodies of Euripides, his magnificent flights of poetic fancy—at times rivalling those of the tragic poets themselves, and his sublime "putting down" of Cleon? Truly, as Mitchell observed, "Nature made but one, and broke the mould in which he was cast!"

Much complaint has been made of the personalities with which the writings of the comedians teem, and Aristophanes has been represented as a mere buffoon, in whose eyes neither the sacredness of private, nor the dignity of public, character were objects of respect. To this it has been well answered, that "private life, as such, was never the subject of comedy, except so far as it was connected with the public." It was the close connection of every Athenian with the government and politics of his city, rendering every man an

[redacted]

took a corresponding change. Satire became dangerous, when liberty had become a marketable commodity, and personal invective quailed before personal means and influence. A new, we may almost call it, drawing-room style of comedy, was introduced, at the head of which we may fairly place Menander.

Personal satire and pointed attacks upon particular abuses now gave way to a subjective style of poetry, in which development of human character, less exaggerated, and more closely approximating to the simplicity of common life, formed the leading feature. To paint a story of everyday life, with a sufficient adherence to probability to be agreeable, and yet sufficiently heightened to prevent its degenerating into insipidity—and to blend moral axioms with neatly-drawn pictures of characters illustrating their tendency — this was, as far as we may judge from the imitations of Terence, the motive which actuated the writers of the New Comedy.

But whilst we may gladly admit that some refinement in principles, and some greater delicacy in language was attained by this class of writers, it is certain that there was a corresponding, and more than equivalent falling away in the grand essentials of wit and humour. As well might we compare the slang punning wit of George Coleman, junior, with the more chastened sarcasm of a Vanbrugh, a Farquhar, or a Sheridan, as contrast the productions of the new school with those of Aristophanes. The fact is, the drama degenerates into commonplace when writers strive to be merely natural. To form a tragedy or a comedy, human nature must be exaggerated or depressed, and the measure of this exaggeration or depression is perhaps the best standard of fair criticism. Mrs. Siddons has been known to abandon many of her old "stage tricks," because, although natural and well conceived, they lowered the dignity of tragedy into commonplace. In like manner, English tragedy has been either exaggerated into melodrama, or vaporized into dull verbiage,

while comedy and low farce have become identical. A good play, tragic or comic, must have some absurdities, but it is in the defining the limit of these absurdities, and subduing them beneath a language that elevates their very improbability, that the art of the dramatic poet consists.

But whatever may be the influence of poetry upon the human mind, there is another faculty, which is equally capable of being turned to the best or the worst effect, especially in cities, namely, Oratory. No city ever boasted a school of eloquence equal to Athens. Even our own statesmen of the long reign of George the Third scarcely parallel the golden reign of oratory at Athens. In fact, oratory existed at Athens only. The quaint proverbial style of the Lacedemonians might excite the same feelings of satisfaction as we derive from a well-turned epigram, or a tart reply to a speech in "the House,"—their habit of saying clever things would be quite as amusing as anything handed down in "Joe Miller," or as the world-famed Irish Bulls so often invented on this side of the Channel. But of consolidated oratory, properly so called, they had none. The polished sweetness, the gentle gracefulness, and lively antithesis—the elaborate exordium, the neat balancing of the points at issue, the collation and contrast of contradictory evidences, and the peal of eloquence winding up the peroration, and almost hurling the minds of the hearers into acquiescence—the poetical allusion, the happy blending of local associations with the matter in hand, the "wise saws and modern instances,"—the subtilties and delicate quibblings to which the interpretation of a doubtful law, or the varying statements of witnesses might give rise, and the cutting sarcasm with which these were in turn refuted—in a word, all that kept the anxious thousands of busy Athens hanging on the words of the speaker—was wanting in the oratory of Sparta.[1]

[1] The speeches of king Archidamus, in Thucydides, probably owe much to the refinement of the Attic historian.

Athens was the grand school of eloquence, where even Cicero was glad to learn. Let us glance briefly at a few of her scholars.

Unfortunately, we have no specimens of the orations spoken by Pericles, except the funeral panegyric preserved by Thucydides in his second book, and this must be regarded rather as the substance of what was spoken over the bodies of the slain than as the precise words of the speech.[1] But the concurrent voice of antiquity pronounces decisively in favour of his wondrous power of arresting the attention by a sweetness of language almost unparalleled, although blended with the happiest and most searching touches of delicate irony. As the polished gentleman and statesman, he is, perhaps, the most favourable specimen history has recorded in Athenian society; an easy urbanity, mingled with firmness; a scholarlike taste, unsullied by conventional selfishness; and a business-like attention to matters of finance and speculation, uncorrupted by sordid meanness or spiritless economy — such were the qualities which adorned Pericles and Athens at the same time. It is even probable that these very qualities furnish the best reason for our having no extant productions of this great statesman. He spoke, doubtless, extemporaneously, and antiquity records no regular staff of reporters at Athens. And yet, how much better must have been the fresh enthusiasm of Pericles, than the tedious rhetoric and sophistic twaddle of such declamation writers as Isocrates!

Among the Greek orators whose writings have been handed down to us, partly in a complete, partly in a fragmentary state, Lysias is the earliest

[1] But, says a writer in the Encycl. Metrop. (Hist. of Gk. Lit. p. 304), "even if Thucydides were not present, the Athenians would not willingly let such a speech die; when books were few, and printing presses there were none, men's memories were good; therefore he might have easily gathered, not only the general substance of what was said, but much of accuracy of expression."

in chronological order.[1] Although his orations on private cases are perhaps less interesting than his public ones, yet they appear to be the best. A shrewd discernment of the various points of evidence, a vivid perception of the best means of upsetting a fallacy or dogma, and a level dignity of language, at once free from plebeian simplicity or pedantic ostentation, render these speeches models of judicial oratory which few can surpass. Many of his orations, moreover, are especially valuable in an antiquarian point of view, although they at the same time present a melancholy picture of social abuse in respect of the burthens laid by the state on the fortunes of the wealthier citizens.

"Vast sums of money were collected by forcible contribution, and laid out in ministering to the amusements of the people: the services called λειτουργίαι ἐγκύκλιαι provided games and spectacles, and theatrical entertainments, in which troops of singers and dancers displayed their musical skill, and performed their evolutions. The writings of Lysias are conceived in the spirit of determined republicanism; a spirit which delighted in arbitrary confiscation, and which seized on the fortunes of the rich to replenish that exchequer, from which the amusements of the mob were to be supplied: hence arose, on one hand, the most anxious desire to conceal wealth, and on the other, unwearied acuteness in detecting it. This introduced bribery and falsehood into the Athenian courts of justice: while those, whose opulence was proved, and who were consequently plundered, endeavoured to indemnify their own losses by the corrupt administration of the city magistracies. In short, the speeches of this orator display such a system of public and private rapine as may diminish our admiration of Athenian government, and teach us to receive with caution the praises which are lavished on the advantages of Athenian liberty."

Isæus, Andocides, and several others, whose works

[1] Encycl. Metrop. ibid. p. 307.

are known to us chiefly in a fragmentary form, present various examples of oratory more or less mingled with judicial and political archæology. There is much to admire in Andocides. Charming purity of language, headlong vehemence in his onslaughts upon an opponent, and a finished working up of arguments, make us regret that this orator's works are not more popularly known at the present day.

And now we come to the orator of nations, Demosthenes. How great were the vicissitudes of his life! and how fraught with example and interest! With our perception of the vanity that actuated some movements of his life, of the vacillation that may have once or twice defamed his fair renown, still the name of Demosthenes is a dearly-cherished one in the heart of every lover of eloquence and patriotism. Heeren's sketch of his life is so good a picture of the history of Greece during its most critical period, as well as of the mighty influence possessed by Demosthenes over the fortunes of Greece, that no apology can be required for transferring it to our pages:—

"Nothing could be more superfluous than the desire of becoming the eulogist of that great master, whom the united voice of so many ages has declared to be the first, and whose panegyric, the only rival which antiquity had placed by his side, has pronounced it in a manner at once accurate and honourable to both. We would not here speak of Demosthenes the orator, but of Demosthenes the statesman; and of him only as far as the man, the orator, and the statesman were intimately combined. His political principles emanated from the depth of his soul; he remained true to his feelings and his convictions, amidst all changes of circumstances and all threatening dangers. Hence he was the most powerful of orators; because with him there was no surrender of his conviction, no partial compromise; in a word, no trace of weakness. This is the real essence of his art; everything else was but secondary: and in this, how far does he rise above

Cicero! and yet, who ever suffered more severely than he for his greatness? Of all political characters, Demosthenes is the most sublime and purely tragic character with which history is acquainted. When, still trembling with the force of his language, we read his life in Plutarch, when we transfer ourselves into his times and his situation, we are carried away by a deeper interest than can be excited by any hero of the epic muse, or tragedy. From his first appearance till the moment when he swallowed poison in the temple, we see him contending against destiny, which seems to mock him with malignant cruelty. It throws him to the ground, but never subdues him. What a crowd of emotions must have struggled through his manly breast, amidst this interchange of reviving and expiring hopes! How natural was it, that the lines of melancholy and indignation, such as we yet behold in his bust, should have been imprinted on his severe countenance! Hardly had he passed the years of his youth, when he appeared, in his own behalf, as accuser of his faithless guardians; from whom, however, he was able to rescue only a small part of his patrimony. In his next attempts, insulted by the multitude, though encouraged by a few who anticipated his future greatness, he supported an obstinate contest with himself, till he gained the victory over his own nature. He now appeared once more as an accuser in public prosecutions, before he ventured to speak on the affairs of the State. But in the very first of his public speeches we see the independent statesman, who, without being dazzled by a splendid project, opposes a vast undertaking. When Philip soon after displayed his designs against Greece, by his interference in the Phocian war, he for the first time came forward against that prince, in his first Philippic oration. From this period, he was engaged in the great business of his life—sometimes as a counsellor, sometimes as accuser, sometimes as an ambassador—he protected the independence of his country against the Macedonian policy

"Splendid success seemed at first to reward his exertions. He had won a number of states for Athens; when Philip invaded Greece, he had succeeded, not only in gaining over the Thebans, but in kindling their enthusiasm, when the day of Chæronæa overthrew all his hopes. But he courageously declares, in the assembly of the people, that he still does not repent of the counsels he had given. An unexpected event changes the whole aspect of things: Philip falls, the victim of assassination; and a youth, as yet but little known, is his successor. Immediately Demosthenes institutes a second alliance of the Greeks; but Alexander suddenly appears before Thebes; the terrible vengeance which he here takes instantly destroys the league; Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and several of their supporters, are required to be delivered up; but Demades was at that time able to settle the difficulty, and to appease the king. His strength was, therefore, enfeebled as Alexander departed from Asia; he begins to raise his head once more, when Sparta attempts to throw off the yoke; but under Antipater he is overpowered. Yet it was about the time that, by the most celebrated of his orations, he gained the victory over the most eloquent of his adversaries, and Æschines was forced to depart from Athens. But this seems only to have more embittered his enemies; the leaders of the Macedonian party and they soon found an opportunity of preparing his downfall. When Harpalus, a fugitive from the army of Alexander, came with his treasures to Athens, and the question arose, whether he would be permitted to remain there? Demosthenes was accused of having been corrupted by his money, at least to be silent. This was sufficient to procure the imposition of a fine; and as this was not paid, he was thrown into prison. From thence he succeeded in escaping; but to the man who lived only for his country, exile was no less an evil than imprisonment. He resided for the most part in Ægina and at Træzen, from whence he looked with sad eyes towards the opposite shores of Attica. Suddenly and

unexpectedly, a new ray of light dawned upon him. Tidings were brought that Alexander was dead. The moment of deliverance seemed at hand; anxiety pervaded every Grecian state; the ambassadors of the Athenians passed through the cities; Demosthenes joined himself to the number, and exerted all his eloquence and power to unite them against Macedon. In requital for such services, the people decreed his return; and years of sufferings were at last followed by a day of exalted compensation. A galley was sent to Ægina to bring the advocate of liberty. All Athens was in motion; no magistrate, no priest remained in the city, when it was reported that Demosthenes was advancing from the Piræus. Overpowered by his feelings, he extended his arms and declared himself happier than Alcibiades; for his countrymen had recalled him, not by compulsion, but from choice. It was a momentary glimpse of the sun, which still darker clouds were soon to overshadow. Antipater and Craterus were victorious, and with them the Macedonian party at Athens; Demosthenes and his friends were numbered among the accused, and at the instigation of Demades were condemned to die. They had already withdrawn in secret from the city; but where could they find a place of refuge? Hyperides, with two others, fled to Ægina, and took refuge in the temple of Ajax. In vain! they were torn away, dragged before Antipater, and executed. Demosthenes had escaped to the island Calauria, in the vicinity of Trœzen, and taken refuge in the temple of Neptune. It was to no purpose that Archias, the satellite of Antipater, urged him to surrender himself, under promise of pardon. He pretended he wished to write something, bit the quill, and swallowed the poison contained in it. He then veiled himself, reclining his head backwards, till he felt the operation of the poison. 'O Neptune!' he exclaimed, 'they have defiled thy temple; but honouring thee, I will leave it while yet living.' But he sank before the altar, and a sudden death separated him

from a world, which, after the fall of his country, contained no happiness for him. Where shall we find a character of more grandeur and purity than that of Demosthenes?"[1]

This masterly historical sketch may be fairly brought forward as an instance of the capability of eliciting the state of the times from the writings of a single author. Indeed, it is doubtful whether more real history may not be learnt from the practised and systematic observations of a single politician, than from a mass, however copious, of conflicting statements and second-hand descriptions. The great spirits of the world are so blent with the material mass they serve to illumine, that, viewed apart from their existence, one whole conception of the facts of history can only present a shapeless and confused void. It is impossible to write the history of the times of a great man apart from his own life: he is the vital principle from whence the lesser importance of other men radiates in different degrees and directions, it is his influence that gives momentum to the gravitating particles of humanity, that directs the whole living world to one centre, from which it cannot diverge but to their own destruction.

It is melancholy to contemplate the downfall of Athenian patriotism during the eventful career of Demosthenes. The exaggeration of democracy had proceeded too far, and Athens had absolutely been enslaved by her own liberty. Moreover, a taste for private elegance and luxury, had superseded the noble liberality that had once decorated the Acropolis. But we have already dwelt long on this sad subject, and a more pleasing one calls away our attention—the philosophy of Athens.

Socrates and Plato are two names associated so much with fantastical theories and speculations, that one is almost afraid of saying anything about them, for fear of falling into equal incongruities. Socrates

[1] Heeren, Greece, ch. xiii. p. 233, sq.

wrote nothing,[1] at least, nothing that appears to have descended to posterity; but his conversation and habits have been handed down to us by two authors, who have little in common, Xenophon and Plato; while the latter of these is not even consistent with himself in his description of his favourite friend and master. In the writings of Xenophon, some of which seem to exhibit fair specimens of the table-talk of Socrates, we are distinctly told that Socrates studied matters of ordinary life, using the most familiar illustrations, without troubling himself about physics or meteorology. In Plato, Socrates appears as a subtle dialectician, fresh in all the quirks and bye-play of the Sophists, and discussing the Pythagorean and other earlier cosmogonies, without, however, expressing anything like a definite opinion on the subject. Furthermore, was Socrates the man of fancy, which the Phædrus and Symposium would induce us to believe? It is at all times difficult to tell when Plato supposes Socrates to mean what he is saying; in some cases we should almost feel a doubt whether he attached any meaning whatever to what he says.

Viewing the character of Socrates apart from the frothy verbiage with which Plato has at times obscured it, he appears as a man uniting a singular keenness of perception with an affable, yet artificial show of simplicity. Of his high talents there can be no doubt; but he spoke too much. A disposition to sift and expose the follies of other people, especially if one succeeds in doing so, is seldom popular, and often proves dangerous to its possessor. No better illustration of this can be quoted than the heroic death of Socrates. He was a martyr, not to the truth, but to the vanity of those who could not bear the discovery that they were fools.

We may pardon Plato his misrepresentations, when

[1] This opinion has, however, been sometimes controverted; but I must confess my inability to find anything sanctioning a contrary belief.

we consider the charming dress in which he has clothed them; and his historical deficiencies will be atoned by the elegance of his language, the graceful play of his wit, and the imaginative variety of his episodes. At the same time, I must, after constant reading and comparison of the whole of Plato's writings, express my unqualified denial of any scheme that professes to unite and reconcile their tenor as a whole. If Plato intended them to be such, he has signally failed in the execution of his design; as the inconsistencies are tremendous. And how could it be otherwise? Could an eclectic philosophy, which culled the flowers from every scholastic bower, which at one time revelled in the cosmogonical hypotheses of the Pythagoreans; at another, flitted to and fro in the dazzling midday sun of Parmenidean atoms — could a philosophy, which talked of every art and science, which seldom concluded an argument in such a manner as to designate the party convinced, and where absurdities were sometimes balanced on a needle's point of accuracy—could such a farrago of thoughts, hypotheses, refutations, and contradictions, ever possess, ever assume a claim to definite system? I am not of the number who can believe so.

It is, perhaps, with the bias of a prescribed course of education, that I am inclined to prefer Aristotle to Plato. His writings are immeasurably less pleasing, but they are sounder and better food for the mind. Concentration of the mind upon the subject in view, accuracy, not far-fetched whimsicality, of illustration, and a more systematic technology, are pre-eminent advantages which the philosopher of Stageira possesses over the Athenian. In Plato, we too often tickle our appetite with the ices and champagne of a pic-nic lunch. In Aristotle, we find a dinner that whets our appetite with a healthy desire for eating more. Plato was a gentleman-philosopher; perhaps to Socrates what Boswell was to Johnson.[1] Aristotle was a philo-

[1] Not, however, in point of historical accuracy.

sopher by profession, and understood his profession well. Let no one think I dislike Plato. It is because I love his writings, that I am tired of the theories which have been invented to excuse, sometimes to make virtues of their worst faults.[1]

I cannot make a more natural transition than from Athenian philosophy to Athenian Christianity; and a brief consideration of the state of this most interesting city at the time of St. Paul's visit will form a fitting conclusion to our notice.

Athens was literally full of shrines and temples in honour either of their own gods, or of those whom they had naturalised. Paul's "spirit was stirred in him when he saw the city full of idols,"[2] and he began to enter into disputes both with the Jews and the proselytes. The same bigotry that had formerly assailed Socrates, now became the lot of Paul, and he was reviled with no small bitterness as "a setter forth of strange gods." When he appeared before the court of Areopagus, and was questioned touching the "new doctrine," he made the celebrated defence which has been so often quoted as a proof of his temperate judgment as well as his religious zeal. Appealing even to their own Pagan literature, he taught them that in one only God, "we live, and move, and have our being," exhorted them to repentance, and set forth the awful responsibilities of the resurrection and final judgment of men. But the babbling[3] people of Athens, who had sat trifling while a Demosthenes spoke, had no ears even for the great Apostle of the Gentiles. Some mocked the solemn warning, others promised to consider it, and "so Paul departed from among them."

[1] As, for instance, in Sewell's Introduction to the Dialogues of Plato, a book pleasing rather for its fanciful and pleasant style, than for the soundness of the information it conveys.

[2] Acts xvii. 16, *κατείδωλον οὖσαν τὴν πόλιν.*

[3] "For all the Athenians, and strangers which were there, spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing."—Acts xvii. 21. How like the character given in the Philippics of Demosthenes!

Who cannot tell what followed? Has the same scourge that has laid waste almost every city we have described, spared the proud capitol of Cecropia? Her ruins tell the same story of the fall of Idolatry, and the spreading abroad of everlasting and immutable truth with a silent eloquence that is made appalling by their magnificence.

CORINTH.

ALTHOUGH Corinth cannot be regarded as belonging to the number of those cities which have wrought great changes in the history of the human race, and have left corresponding memorials attesting the power that must have wrought those changes, still, there is much that is interesting both in its early political importance, and its conspicuous position at the outset of the Peloponnesian war. Although one of the smallest states in Greece, its situation was commanding, and its resources immense. Heeren well remarks:—

"Venice was never more flourishing, or more powerful, than at a time when it did not possess a square mile on the continent. Wealthy Corinth, more than four miles in extent, lay at the foot of a steep and elevated hill, on which its citadel was built. There was hardly a stronger fortress in all Greece, and perhaps no spot afforded a more splendid prospect than Acrocorinthus. Beneath it might be seen the busy city and its territory, with its temples, its theatres, and its aqueducts. Its two harbours, — Lechæum on the western bay, Cenchreæ on the eastern, filled with ships, and the two bays themselves, with the isthmus between them, were all in sight. The peaks of Helicon, and Parnassus itself, were seen at a distance; and a strong eye could distinguish, on the eastern side, the Acropolis of Athens. What images and emotions are excited by this prospect!"[1]

With such advantages, it is not strange that, even at an early period, Corinth should have taken a fore-

[1] Heeren, Greece, i. p. 22, sq.

most position amongst the great cities of Greece. Homer dignified her, under her ancient name of Ephyre, as the "opulent" city,[1] and her fame as such lasted even to the days of John Chrysostom. Pausanias remarks, that in his time "none of the ancient Corinthians dwelt there, but colonists sent thither by the Romans. And the cause of this," continues the same antiquarian, "was the Achæan synod; for the Corinthians took a part in this with the other states, in the war against the Romans, in obedience to the suggestions of Critolaus, who, having been appointed general of the Achæans, persuaded both the Achæans and the greater part of those without Peloponnesus to revolt. When the Romans had prevailed in the war, they took away the arms from the other Greeks, and stripped all the fortified cities of their walls."[2] We shall hereafter revert to the amusing stupidity of the valiant but tasteless consul, Mummius, upon this occasion, merely observing that the Corinth of St. Paul's time must subsequently be regarded rather as a Roman colony than a Grecian city.

The quaint Horatian epithet, "Corinth of the two seas,"[3] neatly describes its position between the Ionian and Ægean seas, a position which was valuable in a commercial point of view. In consequence of the difficulty of weathering the western promontory of Malea, merchandise was conveyed across land from sea to sea, the city of Corinth thus becoming an immediate means of communication for the wealth and wares of Asia and Italy Its traffic from north to south was equally ready and extensive. Natural difficulties, presented by the rocky and stubborn soil, frustrated the attempt made to form a canal through the isthmus; but at one period the Corinthians used to haul the galleys across, from sea to sea, on vast trucks or sledges. Nor were the Corinthians less happy in the employment than in the acquisition of gain: liberality and taste distin-

[1] Thucyd. i. [2] Pausan. ii. 1.
[3] "Bimarisve Corinthi," Hor. Od. ii. 6, 2.

guished their public works and private expenditure, and at the time when Corinth fell into the hands of the Romans, few richer or nobler prizes could have been desired, even by the insatiate cupidity of a Verres.

The popular origin of Corinth betrays the usual attempts to connect its earlier dynasties with the royal houses of mythic history. Sisyphus, Bellerophon, and many other heroes of ancient tragedy, appear among the list of its sovereigns, and the memory of these departed monarchs was preserved in the groves which adjoined its precinct.[1] But one curious point in its ancient history, deserves especial notice, as furnishing an historical parallel to the half-mythical history of early Athens.

When the grand movement of the northern tribes brought the Dorians and Heracleids in one vast troop upon the less hardy states of the Morea, the descendants of Sisyphus, who had already been tributary to the sovereigns of Argos and Mycenæ, abdicated the crown in favour of Aletes, a descendant of Hercules, whose lineal descendants occupied the throne of Corinth for five generations, at the expiration of which time the throne passed into the family of the Bacchiadæ, who retained it for a like period.

And now came a political change, analogous to that which substituted Medon, the son of Codrus, as archon, or chief magistrate, at Athens. While the *prestige* in favour of the old royal family was retained, an aristocratic system took the place of the monarchical; and, although the chief power remained vested in the hands of the Bacchiadæ, they formed a staff of civil magistrates (πρυτάνεις), probably with some power of mutual self-control, in lieu of a patriarchal, yet absolute government by kings. In the year 629 B.C., Cypselus, a man of unbounded spirit and ambition, succeeded in expelling the Bacchiadæ, and in establishing himself in a firm tyranny. Many were the cruelties which

[1] Pausan. ibid. 2.

befell the hapless descendants of Bacchis. Death or exile made as sure havoc among the relics of the old royal family of Corinth as among the offshoots of Louis the Sixteenth. Among the most distinguished exiles was Demaratus, the father of Lucumo, or Tarquinius Priscus, king of Rome.

But whatever were the crimes of Cypselus—crimes which ambition and the passion for gain unfortunately associate with the history of almost every nation, ancient or modern—it cannot be denied that he was a prince of much tact and ability. Corinth had always been renowned for the extent and prosperity of her colonial influence; and Cypselus was not impolitic enough to neglect so important an item in the political scheme of his dominion. Ambracia, Anactorium, and Leucas, were added to the colonies already possessed by the Corinthians.

Among the seven "wise men" of Greece, Periander, the son and successor of Cypselus, has unaccountably obtained a place. Murder, even within the recesses of his own family; tyranny, the most arbitrary and fickle; and other crimes too revolting to mention, render the name of this prince pre-eminently contemptible. An utter want of natural feeling, blended with a weakness that hindered his resolute perseverance in the crimes he instigated and abetted, leave the memory of Periander nought but a record of vicious inability and maudlin brutishness. It was by his cruelties that the Corcyreans, stung by his unnatural treatment of his son Lycophron, and his subsequent tyranny over themselves, were driven to revolt; and the result, shewn in the earliest naval engagement ever fought, proved that the active Corcyreans had learned all that their mother-state could teach them.

I have, in my remarks on Athens, alluded to the mischievous influence of the Peloponnesian war upon the whole of the Grecian states. Corinth took a forward part in this unfortunate struggle, and became the most important enemy to Athens. Repeated

provocations, first arising from the aid rendered by the Athenians to their Megarean neighbours; next, by their alliance with Corcyra; and, finally, by their treatment of Potidæa, incited them to side with the Spartans—a conduct for which the alleged treatment of their allies seemed to furnish ample exuse. Their enterprise at sea, although at first inadequate to withstand the better discipline of the Athenian navy, eventually proved a match for their practised enemies, and not only obtained success for themselves, but likewise secured it to the Syracusans on a subsequent occasion.[1]

After the battle of Amphipolis, when hostilities seemed to be coming to a close, the Corinthians, justly aggravated by the selfish conduct of the Lacedemonians, who had made an exclusive treaty with Athens, without the slightest reference to the interest of their allies, joined the league formed by Elis, Mantinea, and Argos, with a view to the mutual protection of their rights and privileges. But, finding the Bœotians unwilling to join the confederacy, they changed their line of politics, and again associated themselves with Sparta.

During the hostilities waged between the Spartans and Argives, the value of the Corinthian power was felt, especially in their active co-operation with Gylippus for the recovery of Syracuse, much of the success of that attempt being due to the conduct and valour of Aristo, the most able admiral of the Corinthian navy.

But when the states of Greece began to exemplify the truth of the old adage respecting the strength of unity, when intestine divisions were gradually sapping the better feelings of mutual confidence and good-will, and substituting an arbitrary and irritable state of dissension, Athens lay at the mercy of its opponents, and the Corinthians urged the Lacedemonians to destroy that city which had been so unjust an enemy to their own colonies, and so proud and uncontrolled

[1] Thucyd. vii. 34, 39.

a rival to Sparta. But the memory of Marathon was not yet effaced. The proud stand made by one state, in its youth and vigour, against the common enemy of all Greece, remained in all the glory of heroic renown; even the jealous Spartans respected the declining and tottering state of that city that had once stoood forth alone as the champion against the Persian invader.[1] Dissatisfied and disappointed, the Corinthians gradually began to forsake their Spartan allies, and even became creatures of the Persian satrap, Tithraustes, whose sovereign was then at war with Sparta.

After the defeat they sustained at the battle of Coronea, the aristocracy, pressed by the difficulties which surrounded them at home and abroad, began to think of deserting the Bœotians, Argives, and Athenians, and again uniting themselves to their old associates. But this oft-attempted trimming in policy proved a signal failure. The confederate states, already smarting under the consequences of defeat, and dreading the detachment of so important an ally, incited the leaders of the democratic party to massacre the aristocracy of Corinth. As the Danes were murdered on the festival of St. Brice, so were the noblest and best inhabitants of Corinth slaughtered, while unarmed and defenceless, during a day of public festivity; some sought safety in flight, but the democratic party remained in the ascendant, and resolved upon uniting Corinth to Argos, so as to form but one state. Struggle upon struggle followed, and found the Corinthians alternately worsted and victorious, until, harassed by the protracted conflict of the Bœotian war, they made a separate treaty with the Thebans, dismissing their Athenian allies.

I have not space to detail the various circumstances that intervened between this period and the sacking of Corinth, under Lucius Mummius. This successful

[1] Besides, the power of Athens had been so humbled, that there was less to fear from its ambition.—Xenoph. Hist. Gr. ii. 2, 12.

general, who had worked his way to honours from a humble station, was much more capable of beating the enemy than taking care of the spoils. If we may believe Velleius, Mummius was so little acquainted with the value of the treasures he was about to transport to Rome, that he warned the carriers that "if they lost or injured the pictures and statues, they should be compelled to furnish new ones!" Mr. Heidelberg, in the "Clandestine Marriage," could hardly have formed a more enlightened view of the value of antiquities. Strabo goes even farther, asserting that the finest paintings were strewn heedlessly on the ground, and used by the soldiers as dice or draught boards. The male inhabitants were put to the sword, the women and children sold as captives, and Corinth became a scene of ruin and desolation rarely surpassed in the saddest annals of human history.

Corinth was destined to revive again, but not as a Grecian city. It served as the seat of Roman government for southern Greece, now called the province of Achaia. In the time of Pausanias, as we have already stated, its inhabitants had wholly lost their Grecian character. This modern city, moreover, has, in recent times, suffered so much from the hands of the Turks, who have alternately possessed and lost it, that it presents few indications of an even comparative antiquarian interest, as the following description, from the pen of an eye-witness and scholar[1] of the highest character, will attest:—

"There are few remains of antiquity now surviving at Corinth. The traveller who arrives in the modern village from Neuva, perceives on his right hand five fluted columns, of a very ancient date, which once formed part of a temple. What the name of that temple was, is a subject for conjecture alone. The ascent of the hill of the Acrocorinth is steep and difficult. The first gate, which is approached by a drawbridge, is flanked by an impregnable wall of rock on the right, and by artificial outworks on the left. From

[1] Wordsworth's Greece, p. 350, sq.

this gate, a road leads to a hill on the south-west, in form like a truncated cone, upon which is a fortress: it is called Pente Skouphia. Proceeding upwards towards the summit of the Acrocorinth, we enter a semicircular battery, and after seventy paces another gate, defended by artillery; within it is the steep, rocky fortress on the southern crest of the Acrocorinth. The eastern wall of this enclosure is strengthened by four square towers, and the angles are formed with ancient polygonal masonry; after a little more than a hundred paces, we enter a third gate, on the right of which is a square tower of Pelasgic architecture, by which we pass into the large enclosure, which comprehends in its circuit the two northern crests of the Acrocorinth, on the eastern or higher of which are the remains of the ancient temple of Venus, on the site of which a mosque now stands. This large enclosure seems to be comparatively easy of access, and has been entered by a besieging force along a path leading between the two crests, of which we have spoken; and by a well-concerted attack at different points might, perhaps, be surprised, and could not easily be defended, on account of its vast extent. If the eastern crest, which commands the whole citadel, were walled into a separate enclosure, it would seem almost impregnable. The large enclosure resembles a town; it contains many houses, cisterns, churches, and mosques,—all which are now in ruins. There is a fountain in this enclosure, to the east of the southern crest of it; it is approached by a descent on a subterranean slope, which is nine feet broad, and seems to have been covered with marble steps. The water is contained in a rectangular basin, at the termination of the slope: above the water, the rock is hewn into an architectural form, resembling the façade of a small temple: it consists of a tympanum, supported by an architrave resting upon two antæ, and a pilaster in the centre of them: above the tympanum, there is an arched vault. On the rock, near the water, are inscribed commemorations of vows offered in ancient times in this

place, which was probably known in the earliest days of Corinth by the name of the fountain of Peirene."

Several fountains, however, bear this name, but Wordsworth thinks that the Peirene, at which the winged horse Pegasus was caught, while drinking, by Bellerophon, was the "source which springs from the rock on the summit of the Acrocorinth, and that it was from this high point that he soared aloft into the air."[1] In reference to the device of the winged Pegasus, so often found upon the coins of Corinth and her columns, the same scholar elegantly observes:—"The mythological analogy between the horse and the element of water,—an analogy which shews itself in the *name* of Pegasus,[2] and which appears in the activity of both the animal and the element; each, in its own manner, struggling to burst from its confinement, foaming with restless fury, and, as it were, 'pawing to get free,' and at other times bridled, whether by reins of steel or stone, and in the circumstances that they both are to man the means of conquering distance, and of conversing with things remote,—may have led to the adoption of this device; and the symbol upon these coins was, perhaps, intended to express the national sense entertained by Corinth of the advantage which she enjoyed in the excellence and superabundance of her fresh water, an advantage not possessed in the same degree by any other maritime city of Greece."

A road leading from the foot of the citadel, and winding towards the east through low shrubs and quarries of stone, after a distance of about eight miles, brings us to the ancient port of Schænus. About a mile short of that place is the site of the sacred grove in which the Isthmian games were celebrated. The only remains of its ancient buildings are those of the stadium in the southern part of the enclosure, the shell of a theatre about 300 yards to the north of it, and the foundations of the precinct which the temples of Neptune and Palæmon once adorned.

[1] Ibid. p. 352.

When I come to mention Elis, a few remarks will be offered on the political import of the games, which, as the common meetings of the Greeks, were such important means of cementing mutual agreement and good will, and which united amusements of a religious character with the acknowledgment of a political union—a union which, had the Greeks known how to preserve it, would have stayed the Macedonian foe, and presented a combined array of strength, against which no human force could have successfully made head.

But the mention of the theatrical buildings at Corinth, and the natural supposition,—drawn from a knowledge of their general character,—that the Corinthians were greatly addicted to amusements of this class, and perhaps disposed to cultivate them with an enthusiasm rivalling that of the Alexandrians, brings us naturally to a contemplation of many allusions found in St. Paul's Epistles. Doubt has been thrown[1] upon the hypothesis that Paul was skilled in Gentile literature,—a doubt that seems to me conceived in the very spirit of unnecessary scepticism. Do the words of St. Paul before the Areopagus convey the notions of a Jew, who had learned no other literature than that of the Scriptures? Is there not a happy mixture of calm expostulation and gentle satire, which, while it discloses the truths of the Gospel, also proves that he had studied and understood the nature of the false creed and habits he was refuting? To say nothing of the obvious quotations from Pagan writers which appear in his writings, the frequent metaphors derived from Gentile rites and customs appear most prominently in his writings,[2]—

[1] As in Kitto's Cyclopædia, ii. p. 481.

[2] For example, 1 Cor. ix. 24. "They which run in a race run all; but one receiveth the prize."—Phil. iii. 14. "I press toward the mark for the prize."—2 Tim. ii. 5; iv. 7, 8; Heb. vi. 18; xii. 1-3, 4, 12. The following decided quotations occur; one from Aratus, in the sermon in Acts xvii. 28; from Menander, in 1 Cor. xv. 33; and of Callimachus, in Tit. i. 12. Clarke supposes that there are some other allusions.

allusions well calculated to produce the effect intended upon the hearers to whom the Apostle of the Gentiles was sent. Among these, numerous allusions to the games of Greece, doubtless suggested by the magnificent buildings devoted to such purposes, which he had beheld during his travels, deserve especial notice. His stay at Corinth, whither he had retired in vexation at his indifferent success in the work of grace at Athens, doubtless tended to impress his ardent and expansive mind with imagery the most lively, comparisons the most effective. And this was likewise due to his early residence at Tarsus, "to which may be traced the urbanity which the Apostle at no time laid aside, and of which he was frequently a perfect model, many insinuating turns which he gives to his epistles, and a more skilful use of the Greek tongue than a Jew born and educated in Palestine could well have attained."[1]

The church of Corinth early appears to have been the prey of various intestine divisions which interfered with the good work of the Apostle.[2] What these disputes really were, and what were the reasons that led to them, or to what consequences they led, we have little knowledge. It is "remarkable in the Epistles of the Apostle Paul, by the variety of its spiritual gifts, which seem for the time to have eclipsed or superseded the office of the elder or bishop, which in most churches became from the beginning so very prominent. Very soon, however, this peculiarity was lost, and the bishops of Corinth take a place co-ordinate to those of other capital cities."[3]

[1] Eichhorn, Einleitung ins. N. T. iii. 5, quoted in Kitto.
[2] 1 Cor. i. 12. [3] F. W. Newman, in Kitto, i. p. 456.

ELIS.

Elis is, essentially, the Holy Land of Greece.[1] Of comparatively little importance in resources, or in any active part taken in the grand field of Grecian politics, it was a pleasant district, about fifty-four miles in length from south to north, but not above half that breadth in its broadest part. Chief among the rivers which, rising in the mountains of Arcadia, irrigated the fruitful plains of Elis, was the Alpheus, on whose banks the Olympic games were celebrated. In this sacred land of peace, the Greek nation assembled to celebrate the grandest festival to antiquity, to which the States were invited, even in time of war.[2] Wachsmuth thinks that the claims of the Eleans were not of the early date they asserted. "The name and history of the Olympic sanctuary do not begin historically till Iphitus. From the time of the dissolution of the political system of the ancient Achæans, it seems to have existed solely for the benefit of the Pisatans: it is certain that before Iphitus, the games were suspended, according to the tradition, from the time of Oxylus; but it is a question whether Oxylus at that time ruled over Pisatis; nevertheless, the account of a consecration is not altogether unfounded. This consecration must be especially referred to the locality of the feast, and in its most definite sense, to the grove Altis."[3]

Moreover, armies were compelled to lay down their arms before they passed through this favoured land, and during the celebration of the feast to pay a fine.

[1] Heeren, Greece, i. p. 18. [2] See Wachsmuth, i. p. 163.
[3] Ibid. p. 161, sq.

Nevertheless, as Wachsmuth rightly observes, "it was almost a shameless assertion on the part of the Eleans, that they had not borne arms before the time of Philip; they, in fact, fought with advantage to themselves for the sovereignty of Pisatis[1] and Triphylia, and for their common country against the Persians." Heeren, who takes a more favourable view of the Eleans than his countryman, gives the following idea of the advantages which occurred to Elis from the Olympic games:—

"If this privilege gave to them, as it were, all their importance in the eyes of the Greeks; if their country thus became the common centre; if it was the first in Greece for works of art, and perhaps for wealth; if their safety, their prosperity, their fame, and, in some measure, their existence as an independent state, were connected with the temple of Jupiter Olympus, and its festivals, need we be astonished if no sacrifice seemed to them too great, by which the glory of Olympia was to be increased? Here, on the banks of the Alpheus, stood the sacred grove, called Altis, of olive and plane trees, surrounded by an enclosure; a sanctuary of the arts, such as the world has never since beheld. For what are all our cabinets and museums, compared with this one spot? Its centre was occupied by the national temple of the Greeks, the temple of Olympian Jove, in which was the colossal statue of that god, the masterpiece of Phidias. No other work of art in antiquity was so generally acknowledged to have been the first, even whilst all other inventions of Grecian genius were still uninjured; and need we hesitate to regard it as the first of all the works of art, of which we have any knowledge? Besides this temple, the grove contained those of Juno and Lucina, the theatre and the Prytaneum; in front of it, or perhaps within its precincts, was the stadium, together with the race-ground, or Hippodromus. The whole

[1] *i. e.* the district afterwards called Olympia. Even in Strabo's time, the city of Pisa, so often the theme of Pindar's *lyrics*, was no longer in existence.

forest was filled with monuments and statues, erected in honour of gods, heroes, and conquerors. Pausanias mentions more than two hundred and thirty statues; of Jupiter alone he describes twenty-three, and these were, for the most part, works of the first artists; for how could any poor production gain admittance, where even indifferent ones were despised? Pliny estimates the whole number of these statues in his time at three thousand. To this must be added the treasures (*θησαυροὶ*) which the piety or the vanity of so many cities, enumerated by Pausanias, had founded by their votive presents. It was with a just pride that the Grecian departed from Olympia. He could say to himself with truth, that he had seen the noblest objects on earth, and that these were not the works of foreigners, but the creation and the prosperity of his own nation."[1]

But, great as was the glory of Elis as the centre of peace and religion in Greece, few vestiges remain to attest its renown. The reader will perhaps notice our remarks on the destructive influence of vegetation on the ruins of Baal-bek; nature has been at work with an equally baleful effect around the site of ancient Elis. We may well conclude this notice with the remarks of Wordsworth on the subject:—

"It is a consequence of those natural properties which conduced to its fertility, that so few remains at present survive of the former splendour of Elis. The soil consists of a rich alluvial loam, deposited, in the lower grounds, by the rivers; and both the stone of the country is of a more porous description than the limestone and marble supplied by the quarries in other parts of Greece, and the remains of the buildings have disappeared the sooner beneath the covering of soil which was brought down by the streams from the mountain slopes. The same observations may be applied generally to the other provinces of the Grecian continent and peninsula, upon which nature has be-

[1] Greece, i. p. 19, sqq.

stowed a larger share of her endowments. The remains of antiquity are generally in an inverse ratio to the fertility of their soil. We believe that scarcely a sculptured group or fragment of a frieze is to be seen at the present time within the limits of the district of Hella most distinguished for their prolific character, namely, Thessaly and Boeotia on the continent, and Achaia and Elis in the Peloponnesus." [1]

[1] Wordsworth's Greece, p. 308.

MYCENÆ.

I MUST close my notices of Grecian cities with a few remarks on Mycenæ, the seat of the ancient house of the Atridæ. So replete is Grecian tragedy with gloomy recollections of this ill-starred family, that we shall venture to take a wider survey of a few of those plays which are chiefly concerned in adding interest to the ruins of Mycenæ. I shall first, however, avail myself of the descriptions with which modern travellers furnish us.

"The remains of Mycenæ, distinguished by Homer for the excellence of its building, now consist of an irregular enclosure, in its extreme length and breadth about 330 by 200 yards, called the Gate of Lions, from two lions rudely sculptured over the lintel. It is flanked by walls, which form a court about fifty feet deep in front of it; and these, together with the front of the gate, are built with blocks, which evidently have been rudely squared. The back of the gate is said to exhibit the rough masonry which we have called Cyclopean; and hence a question may arise, whether the gate itself, with the front walls, were a later structure, or whether the regular and the polygonal construction were not employed at the same period: the former, for the rough service of war; the latter, for edifices of sanctity or splendour. The greater part of the walls consists of polygonal blocks, well fitted to each other, as in the walls of a temple in Epirus; but specimens occur as rude as those at Tiryns: and, as we have already said, there is also an approximation to regular masonry of hewn stone. Thus, in this one example, we find the two stages of

the Cyclopean, and that which is usually called the Etruscan style. The durability of these remains may be estimated from Pausanias, who visited them sixteen centuries ago, yet his brief notice might serve a modern traveller:—'A gateway, over which stand lions, and other parts of the wall are still left. They have defied, not only time, but the still more destructive hand of man; for, when the Ægeans demolished Tiryns and Mycenæ, 468, B.C.,' they could not break down the walls of Mycenæ, by reason of their strength; for they were built by the Cyclops, after the manner of those of Tiryns."

The following more complete account is from the pen of Wordsworth, and will well repay the reader for the trouble of perusal:—

"The position of these ruins is fortunate: there is no habitation on the spot, and you rise from a vacant plain to the deserted hill upon which they stand. The citadel occupied an eminence stretching from east to west, and supplying a platform of about a thousand feet in length, and half that distance in breadth. Two mountain torrents, coming from the hills on the east, flowed in their rocky beds, one on the north, the other on the south, along the foot of the Acropolis, and thence were carried into the receptacle of the neighbouring mountain-streams, the Argolic plain. The walls of the citadel may be traced in their entire circuit, and on the western side they rise to a considerable height. The interior of their enclosure, or area of the citadel, is covered with the common turf and mountain-plants of the country. Only a few foundations of ancient buildings remain, and one or two cisterns hewn in the rocky soil, and lined with cement. Such is the present state of the Acropolis of Mycenæ.

"It was entered by two *gates*, one on the north-east, the other on the west, and by two only. In an ancient city, gates seem to have been regarded as necessary evils, which it was unsafe to multiply; and a large number of them was considered honourable, as

proving the confidence of the citizens in their own strength and courage to defend them. . . . Nor was the line of the walls of the citadel of Mycenæ varied by projecting towers; only two approximations to a tower-like structure occur in their whole circuit. These are placed to guard the two entrances of which we have spoken, and project in such a manner on the right-hand side of each gate, that the sword-arm of an assailant was exposed to missiles hurled upon him by the besieged from the tower.

"The principal or north-western of the two gates at Mycenæ, exhibits above its lintel the most ancient monument of sculpture in Greece. These two lions, carved in low relief, are the only survivors of their age. This single block of green basalt, on which they are graven, contains all the history of the sculpture of that period. What was the object of this work would seem unnecessary to inquire, after the elaborate disquisitions that have been produced upon it. It has been conjectured, from the column which divides the two lions, and from its *probable* termination in a spiry flame—for the capital and epistyle are mutilated—that this device was an emblem of the solar worship, which Mycenæ is supposed to have derived from its connection with Persia. This supposition is a bold one, and rests upon insecure foundations. Pausanias, sensitive as he was upon such subjects, and somewhat prone to find a mystical meaning where none was intended to be conveyed, does not seem to have considered these animals as affording any grounds for the application of a process by which sculptural representations are converted into scrolls of religious hieroglyphics. To him they are mere *lions*. Standing as they do over the principal gate of Mycenæ, through which the citadel was entered by all who had ascended from the plain of Argos below it, they seem to suggest a more simple conjecture: that they were devised and placed there as significant intimations to the stranger of the *strength* and '*courage leonine*' of that city which he was about



and carpeted the floors of the house of Agamemnon with many a dainty design. The gold and ivory of the Asiatic courts were here in profusion. Splendour, such as even gods (according to the popular belief) might envy, was set forth to welcome the conqueror of Troy. In the middle of such magnificence, the cold hand of death—of death ushered in by the hands of those nearest of kin and dearest to the heart—draws the sword, beneath which Agamemnon falls.

A fresh scene of the picture opens, and the tearful Electra, smarting under the bitter remembrance of her sire's death, and goaded by the insults of her mother; now revelling in wanton delights—when, like Hamlet, the very dead seem to chide her for her neglect, and when her every feeling is swallowed up in the like gloomy speculations on revenge—comes forth to tell the sad tale of woe which has lent impulse to the song of the three dramatists of Athens.[1] We behold her in the company of her maidens, bearing the offerings which her mother had sent to appease the dead Agamemnon. Vain desire! to think to appease the cries of blood from the earth against the shedder! Slowly wends the sad cortège from those gates whence the glory of the house had departed. A mournful dirge, broken by occasional hurried questions and despairing replies, attests the bewailing of the daughters of Mycenæ, and gloom and hopelessness reign around. Suddenly the sole hope of the house, the exiled Orestes, stealthily approaches; question begets question, and the saviour of the Atrean race, whose existence had been given up for lost, yields to the fulness of joy, as he recognises the anxious sister whose affection had never known rest. Now follows the grand scene of retribution. Clytæmnestra in vain seeks mercy from the son whose father she has dishonoured and destroyed. In vain she lays bare the bosom that had nurtured the

[1] See the "Electras" of Sophocles and Euripides, and the "Choephoræ" of Æschylus.

avenger of her self-wrought disgrace. The blow
stricken, and the house of the Atridæ is again free.

And now comes the climax of horror. Even
Hamlet alternates between the gust of revenge a
the stings of sorrow, now elevated to a grandeur
wrath that Shakespere only could delineate, now
pressed to a moody sadness, bordering on insanity
so does Orestes depart from himself. The excitem
which has sustained him throughout the work
revenge, has subsided, and the ghost of his mot
arrayed in all the dread equipments of the powers
darkness — of the Erinnys, those dog-like track
of blood, rises before his appalled vision. All
delight of sated vengeance, all the confidence of po
wrested from the hand of the unrighteous, cannot c
pensate for the peace of mind that has left him
ever. In agonized accents, he implores his slain mot
to withdraw the apparition that seems to lure him
to madness. In vain does sophistry seek to quiet
conscience; in vain does he balance the crimes of
mother against her punishment—still does the phan
fix its lurid stare, and, with a blank visage of threa
ing horror, meet the retreating eye of the matric
At one time raving in paroxysms of the wildest
rium, at another, prostrate and exhausted,[1] while
sister in love and guilt bathes him with her tears,
seeks to flatter him into that rest she herself k
not. Orestes is the grand character of Euripide
poet who has written many of the best passages i
very worst plays.

Graceful and benignant is the end which an Æsc
could conceive to this terrific legend. For that
who had chilled the blood of the spectator by his
of Agamemnon's death, and who had conceived
grand frenzies of a Cassandra,—it was justly rese
to consummate the end of this most popular, be
most tragical, Mycenæan myth. In the "Eumen
of Æschylus, we discern the taste, as well as

[1] See Eurip. Orest. sub init.

sublime imagination, of the poet. Unlike the bungling triviality which disgraces the "Electra" of Euripides,[1] all is solemn and appropriate, and yet the *denouement* is agreeable. No illusion is wanting to complete the dreadful impressiveness of this tragedy. The horror-stricken Pythoness, who has been startled by the appearance of the furies, ever eager in their chace after the blood-defiled Orestes; the pale shade of Clytæmnestra, rising from her dishonoured place among the dead, to urge her too tardy avengers to deeds of horrible import; the heart-broken Orestes, cheered by the promises of the god who had urged the crime, and at length acquitted by the sacred court of Areopagus; form a dramatic picture that modern times can never hope to present.

Such are a few of the associations which the ruins of Mycenæ—ruins even in the days of Thucydides—recall to our minds. We have no history of that city, which was in ruins before history had birth. It is in the wondrous writings of Æschylus that Mycenæ lives to our recollection. Whilst we contemplate her massive portals, their rude sublimity seems to claim kindred with the thoughts of that poet, who sang the knell of her heroes in language as colossal as the stones that formed her palaces.

[1] Unquestionably the very vilest play in extant Greek literature.

VEII.

BEFORE we proceed to consider the past glory of that city which once took the lead in the civilized world; before we contrast the slavish desolateness of papal, with the noble freedom of ancient Rome, some notice of Veii, its ancient rival, is indispensable. But it is not only as the southern bulwark of Etruria, or as the successful competitor of Rome for the laurels of war for a space of nearly four hundred years, that Veii claims attention; she appears also as the instructress of the seven-hilled city, in the various arts of civilization for which the Etruscans have ever been famous. In the task of describing the present state of a city, of which, a century after the reign of Augustus, no traces remained, I shall avail myself of the labours of the most recent visitor to this interesting spot, George Dennis, whose treatise on the ancient cities of Etruria surpasses every other work on the subject, in taste, judgment, and perseverance:—

"The ancient road from Rome seems to have left the Viâ Cassia about the fifth milestone, not far from the sepulchre vulgarly, but erroneously, called that of Nero, and to have pursued a serpentine course to Veii; but this road, Sir William Gell thinks, has been little travelled since the formation of the Viâ Cassia (A.U. 629), yet it must have been the way to the Municipium that subsequently arose on the site. Instead of pursuing this ancient tract, now distinguishable only to a practised eye by the sepulchres and tumuli at its side, travellers usually push on to La Storta, the first post-house from Rome, and beyond the ninth milestone on the Viâ Cassia. Hence it is a mile and a half to Isola by the carriage-road; but the visitor on horse or foot

may save half a mile, by taking a pathway across the downs. When Isola Farnese [1] comes into sight, let him halt a while to admire the scene. A wide sweep of the Campagna lies before him, in this part broken into ravines or narrow glens, which, by varying the lines of landscape, redeem it from the monotony of a plain, and by patches of wood relieve it of its usual nakedness and sterility. On a steep cliff, about a mile distant, stands the village of Isola—a village in fact, but in appearance a large chateau, with a few outhouses around it. Behind, rises the long, swelling ground, which once bore the walls, temples, and palaces, of Veii, but is now a bare down, partly fringed with wood, and without a single habitation on its surface. At a few miles distance rises the conical, tufted hill of Musino, the supposed scene of ancient rites, the Eleusis, or Delphi, it may be, of Etruria. The eye is then caught by a tree-crested mound, or tumulus, standing in the plain beyond the site of the city; then it stretches away to the triple paps of the Monticelli, and to Tivoli, gleaming from the dark slopes behind; and then it rises and scans the majestic chain of Apennines, bounding the horizon with their dark gray masses, and rests with delight on La Leonessa and other well-known giants of the Sabine range, all capt with snow. Oh, the beauty of that range! From whatever part of the Campagna you view it, it presents those long, sweeping outlines, but, consistently with the character of the land, preserving, even when soaring highest, the true Italian dignity and repose—the *otium cum dignitate* of Nature."

Isola is now a wretched hamlet of ruinous houses, and even the palace, belonging to the Rospigliosi family, is rapidly falling into decay. The caverns in the cliffs around give a mysterious and solemn interest to the spot, and whet the traveller's curiosity to see the an-

[1] A hamlet about eleven miles from Rome, on the right of the Via Cassia, in the neighbourhood of which is the site of the ancient Veii.

tiquities of Veii. In the little piazza several relics of Roman domination, sculptural and inscriptive, are found.

Dennis summarily describes his guide, Antonia Valéri, as "a big, burly man, swollen, you might think, with official dignity, did not his sallow cheek and haggard look betray the ravages of disease—the malaria fever, which either emaciates or bloats its victims."

We must not expect to find many monuments of the past glory of Veii. Scarcely one Etruscan site has fewer remains, yet Veii lives in the pages of history.

Our limits prevent our making an entire circuit of the city, but there are three or four spots of interest to which we can but direct our readers' attention. And here we must again avail ourselves of the pleasant pen of Dennis.

"My guide led the way into the glen which separates Isola from the ancient city, and in which stands a mill, most picturesquely situated, with the city cliffs towering above it, and the stream sinking in a cascade into a deep gulley, overshadowed by ilex. Hence a path leads up to the site of one of the ancient gates. Near it are some remains of the walls, composed of small rectangular blocks of *tufo*.[1]

"The information of the guide, though he be superior in station and intelligence to the ordinary run of *ciceroni* on Etruscan sites, is not to be received with implicit faith. According to him, the mill marks the scene of the slaughter of the Fabii—that noblest and bravest of Roman families: a mere conjecture, arising, probably, from the erroneous notion that Isola was the site of their camp.[2] He also points out some walling on the verge of the cliff-bound plateau, that here pro-

[1] A volcanic stone of a dark gray colour.

[2] "The Fabii," observes Dennis, "were slaughtered on a height, not in a valley." See, however, Dr. Arnold's Essay on the Credibility of Early Roman History, p. 6 (Encycl. Brit. Hist. of Roman Republic).

jects into the glen, and pronounces it to be the pier of a bridge which had spanned the hollow at this spot, and communicated with a road in a narrow cleft in the hill opposite. The ruins more probably formed a portion of the city walls.

"Following the line of the high ground to the east, I passed several other fragments of the ancient walls, all mere embankments, and then struck across bare downs, or corn-fields, into the heart of the city. A field, overgrown with briers, was pointed out by Antonio as the site of excavations where were found, among other remains, the colossal statue of Tiberius, now in the Vatican, and the twelve Ionic columns of marble which sustain the portico of the post-office at Rome. This was probably the forum of the Roman '*Municipium Augustum Veiens*,' which rose on the ruins of Etruscan Veii. The *columbarium*, or Roman sepulchre hard by, must have been without the limits of the *municipium*, which occupied but a small portion of the original city: when first opened, it contained stuccoes and paintings in excellent preservation; but it is now in a state of utter ruin.

"I now entered on a wide down, overrun with rank vegetation, where tall thistles and briers played no small devilry with one's lower limbs, and would deny all passage to the fair sex, save on horseback. On I struggled, passing what Antonio declared to be an ancient theatre, but what is merely a Roman tomb, till I found traces of an ancient road, slightly sunk between banks. This was the road from Rome to the *municipium*; and after crossing the site of the ancient city, in a direct line, it fell into the Viâ Cassia. I traced it a long distance across the briery down, and then into a deep hollow, choked with thickets, where I came upon a large polygonal block of basalt, such as usually compose Roman pavement. This was without the limits of the Etruscan city, in a narrow hollow which separated the city from its Arx. At this spot is a fragment of the ancient walls. The road ran down

the hollow towards Rome, and was probably called the Viâ Veientana.

"The Arx is a table-land of no great extent, rising precipitously from the deep glens which bound it, save at the single point where a narrow ridge unites it to the city. Such a position would mark it at once as the citadel, even had it not traditionally retained its ancient designation in its modern name—Piazza d'Armi; and its juxtaposition and connection with the city give it much superior claims to be so considered, than those which can be urged for the height of Isola Farnese, which is separated from the city by a wide hollow. There is also every reason to believe that this is the site of the earliest town. . . .

"I walked round the Piazza d'Armi, and from the verge of its cliffs looked into the beautiful glen on either hand, through which, far beneath me, wound the two streams which girded in Veii, and into the broader and more beautiful hollow, through which, after uniting their waters, they flowed—once as the far-famed Cremera—to mingle with the Tiber. Peculiar beauty was imparted to these glens by the rich autumnal tints of the woods, which crowned the verge, or clothed the base, of their red and gray cliffs; the dark russet foliage of the oaks; the orange or brilliant red of the mantling vines, heightened by the contrast of the green meadows below. Scarcely a sign of cultivation met the eye—one house alone on the opposite cliff; no flocks or herds sprinkled the meadows beneath: it was the wild beauty of sylvan, secluded nature."

And now comes the painful contrast. How different was the scene that met the eye of Camillus, as he gazed from this spot after his capture of Veii! All the horrors of a conquered city, which a Sallust could describe, were to be found in the smouldering ruins. Still was slaughter raging; the shouts of the victors, the shrieks of the vanquished, were mingled in one horrible chorus; here, the victorious soldiers

pressed up through the hollow ways into the city, eager for spoil, there, the wretched inhabitants fled across the open country in reckless and hopeless despair.

"The story of the *cuniculus* or mine of Camillus is well known: how he carried it up into the temple of Juno, within the citadel; how he himself led his troops to the assault; how they overheard the Etruscan *aruspex*, before the altar of the goddess, declare to the king of Veii that victory would rest with him who completed the sacrifice; how they burst through the flooring, seized the entrails, and bore them to Camillus, who offered them to the goddess with his own hand; how his troops swarmed in through the mine, opened the gates to their fellows, and obtained possession of the city. Verily, as Livy sapiently remarks, 'it were not worth while to approve or disapprove these things, which are better fitted to be set forth on a stage which delighteth in marvels, than to be received with implicit faith. In matters of such antiquity, I hold it sufficient if what seemeth truth be received as such.'"[1]

After the lapse of ages the site of Veii was again colonized by Augustus, but its glory had faded, and the new colony, which occupied scarcely a third of the extent of the ancient city, struggled for a century for existence, till, in the days of Adrian, it again sank into decay.

"This, then," resumes Dennis, "was Veii!—who now remembers its existence? What ruins—what traces of it are left? Hardly can we credit our annals, which tell us Veii has been. For the inscriptions found on the spot prove that the colony continued at least to exist to a late period of the Roman empire.

"Every time I visit Veii, I am struck with the rapid progress of destruction. Nibby and Gell mention

[1] Dennis, Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria. 8vo, Lond. i. p. 2, sqq. The reader may compare a briefer sketch given in Wood's "Letters of an Architect," ii. p. 92, sq.

many remains which are no longer visible. The site has less to shew on every succeeding year. Even masonry, such as the pier of the bridge over the Fossi di Formello, that from its massiveness might defy the pilferings of the peasantry, is torn to pieces, and the blocks removed to form walls or houses elsewhere, so that, ere long, I fear it will be said of Veii, 'Her very ruins have perished'—*etiam periêre ruinæ*."[1]

I can add little to these interesting remarks, but a brief notice of the position occupied by Veii in early Roman history. That she was a city of considerable antiquity, even during the supposed reign of Romulus, may be inferred from the power to which she had attained, even at so early a period. Possessing a vast territory, extending on the south and east to the Tiber, and on the south-west to the sea, with many towns wholly dependent on her for protection and resources, Veii may have formed the leading one of the twelve cities of the Etruscan Confederation.

It is sad, however, to find that not a vestige of the taste and skill which distinguished the inhabitants of Veii can be pointed out. War, nothing but war, forms the whole history of this proud antagonist of Rome. And although it is probable that many of the wars[2] with this people, which Livy mentions, were huddled in to fill up a gap in an eventless year—although neither Livy nor Dionysius of Halicarnassus deserve much credit in respect to their histories of early time—no scepticism can overthrow the obvious fact that Veii was to Rome what Carthage was at a later period—an enemy too respectable to be despised, and sufficiently formidable to give great uneasiness to her rising neighbour.

Niebuhr and his followers have done much to rob us of the delightful legends which a Macaulay has made a part of our own best ballad literature. Even in our

[1] Dennis, ibid. p. 19, sqq.

[2] They are carefully enumerated by Dennis, p. 25, sqq.

rough, old, torn, scribbled, and dog-eared "Goldsmith," Roman history is much more interesting than in the heavy, truth-seeking, romance-destroying volumes of the German reformer of history. Painful is the feeling which divests our minds of old recollections, and which, while it remodels our thoughts, gives us only a fresh troop of uncertainties in their stead. The sorrowful death of Lucretia, the expulsion of the kings by the enthusiastic heroism of Brutus—his death no less heroic; the valour of Horatius; the martyr-like intrepidity of Mutius Scævola; and the modest daring of a Cloelia—all these pretty legends, in which Veii bears so conspicuous a place, of which it is the chief occasion, we are forbidden to believe. All we know of early Rome is, that we know nothing: our legendary information is taken away, and there is nought to recompense us for its loss, save a mass of loose facts, and often distorted inferences.

One of the most interesting of these "old wives' tales," is the narrative given by Livy[1] and others, of the prodigy of the Alban Lake, which ushered in the final overthrow of Veii. My readers must not believe it, but I will tell it, nevertheless.

In the year of Rome 356, when the Romans had already lain eight years before the walls of Veii, a wondrous phenomenon took place, which was held to be a portent of some fearful coming event. In the height of summer, when the streams were parched up, and even rivers became fordable, the waters of the Alban Lake suddenly rose to an extraordinary height, threatening to overflow their barrier,[2] and deluge the beautiful territory of the Campagna. In vain were the gods wearied with supplications and offerings, and the Romans resorted to the Delphic oracle for information touching so strange an event.

But it so happened that at one of the outposts of the camp before Veii, the soldiers fell to gossiping with

[1] Liv. v. 15, sqq. Cicero de Div. i. 44.

[2] "The crater-lip of an extinct volcano."—Dennis.

the townsmen, and one of them, a Ro
who had made acquaintance with an o
was renowned as a soothsayer, lamented
friend, asserting that he would be involv
mon ruin when Veii was taken. The soot
ing, replied—" Vain are your attempts t
of Veii, seeing that it has been revealed
can Art, that when the Alban Lake shal
waters be drained off so as not to mingle wi
gods will not desert Veii." The centuri
ing the old man's skill in divination, thou
these words, and the next day went to hi
under the pretence of consulting him to
signs and portents, led him far away fr
then seizing him suddenly in his arms, he
to the Roman camp. Thence he was tak
senate, to whom he repeated his prophecy
the gods would not have it cancelled, f
written in the books of Destiny. The
little heeded the prophecy, but it was con
oracle brought back from Delphi:—" I
heed lest ye allow the water to remain
Lake: let it not flow to the sea in its nat
Draw it off, and diffuse it through yo
shall ye stand victors on the walls of Veii
was formed through the rocky hill, and t
waters of Albano were drawn off. So
millus fulfilled the prophecy, and Veii
rise again.



the townsmen, and one of them, a Roman centurion, who had made acquaintance with an old citizen who was renowned as a soothsayer, lamented the fate of his friend, asserting that he would be involved in the common ruin when Veii was taken. The soothsayer, laughing, replied—"Vain are your attempts to take this city of Veii, seeing that it has been revealed by the Etruscan Art, that when the Alban Lake shall swell till its waters be drained off so as not to mingle with the sea, the gods will not desert Veii." The centurion, well knowing the old man's skill in divination, thought much of these words, and the next day went to him again, and, under the pretence of consulting him touching certain signs and portents, led him far away from the walls; then seizing him suddenly in his arms, he bore him off to the Roman camp. Thence he was taken before the senate, to whom he repeated his prophecy, saying that the gods would not have it cancelled, for thus was it written in the books of Destiny. The senate at first little heeded the prophecy, but it was confirmed by the oracle brought back from Delphi:—"Romans, take heed lest ye allow the water to remain in the Alban Lake: let it not flow to the sea in its natural channel. Draw it off, and diffuse it through your fields. So shall ye stand victors on the walls of Veii." A tunnel was formed through the rocky hill, and through it the waters of Albano were drawn off. Soon after Camillus fulfilled the prophecy, and Veii fell, never to rise again.





ROME.





ROME.

If it is difficult to say a little on the subject of Athens, Rome presents an equal disadvantage to the historic sketcher. The gigantic volumes of Piranesi, the voluminous cyclopædias collected by a Grævius, a Pitiscus, or a Muratori, have exhausted all the mingled appliances of art, literature, and learning, upon the city of the Seven Hills, and their materials have, in turn, furnished a host of compilers with subjects, the discussion of each of which has, in some cases, formed many a folio.

In the last article, I have adverted to the uncertainty of early Roman history, and it is for this reason that I shall be but brief in my notice of this city. Where uncertainty reigns and the limits of a work preclude discussion, there is no alternative. What I wish chiefly to impress upon my reader, is the important influence of Roman history and literature upon that of the rest of the world, and especially of our own country.

What endless stories of the Arcadian life of early Italy does the Palatine hill suggest to our minds! Here was the little cottage of Evander,[1] beneath the humble roof of which, the Arcadian king, like some patriarch of holier history, received the jaded and weather-beaten Trojans, as they sought a new land, that should hereafter inspire a Virgil with the most delicious description ever penned. On this hill, too, were the noble babes exposed, who, miraculously preserved, became the founders of a State that was to command the world. At the southern extremity of the

[1] See Venuti, Antichita di Roma, 4to, i. pt. 1, p. 2.

present forum, and just under the Palatine hill, stands the church of St. Theodore, traditionally said to be the temple afterwards erected to Romulus by Tatius. It is of a circular form, and the brazen wolf, commemorating the curious manner in which the founders of Rome were nurtured, occupied a place here till the sixteenth century. "But this last fact," observes a visitor, "is surely of no authority to demonstrate this to be the original building. The roof is unquestionably modern, nor is there anything to a common eye which bespeaks peculiar antiquity." In Spence's anecdotes, however, we find another argument in its favour: he says, "that the Roman matrons of old used to carry their children, when ill, to the temple of Romulus; and the women still carry their children to St. Theodore on the same occasions."[1]

Such is a slight specimen of the legendary associations with which, even in these days, the site of the ancient capital of the western world is replete. It is a city of gods and heroes, and even in its dirty streets, and amidst its dirtier population, some feeble conceptions of its ancient nobility and magnificence rise in our imagination. Although the Tarpeian rock has dwindled away from the precipitous height which was once fearful to contemplate, still the fate of "La bella Tarpeia," as she is still called by the neighbouring peasantry, makes us think of the faithless maiden whose death Propertius has so gracefully worked into the form of an elegy, or of a Manlius, whose fate might serve as a significant lesson to many a political adventurer of modern times.

Rome has undergone changes so great, even previous

[1] Burton, Description of the Antiquities, &c. of Rome, 8vo, p. 487. Useful information on the whole topography of Rome will be found in Professor Ramsay's Roman Antiquities (Encycl. Metrop.). My notice of Rome is purposely brief, as much has been already mentioned connected with its history in previous articles, especially under Jerusalem and Veii. Moreover, the subject is so fully treated in popular books, that but little is required in a volume like the present.

to the introduction of Christianity, that we can hardly be surprised that so few monuments appertaining to the days of the Republic have been handed down to us. The Palatine hill, with the rude huts built by the hardy followers of Romulus, was as great a contrast to the Capitol when beautified and covered with stately buildings by Tarquin, as its imperfect restoration after its destruction by the Gauls (A. U. 365) presented to its subsequent state. The capture of Corinth tended at once to humanize the tastes of private individuals, and to furnish the means of gratifying them. Gradually, the study of Grecian art developed itself in the increased splendour of private dwellings and public offices, just as the literature of Rome sprang up from the imitation of the older Greeks. In fact, "we can scarcely fail coming to this conclusion, that architecture was at a very low ebb in Rome, when it was at its height in Greece, and in the Grecian colonies. The remains at Athens, such as the Parthenon, the temple of Theseus, and the Propylæa, carry us back to the time of Pericles, which answers to the year of Rome 302. In Sicily, the temples of Egesta and Girgenti remind us of the ravages which the Carthaginians had inflicted upon the island, before the Romans had a navy in their ports to contend with them. If we come still nearer to them in Magna Græcia, we have the temples of Pæstum, over whose history a veil of mystery is spread, through which we endeavour to look into those times which are prior to existing records. But at Rome there seems to have been no national genius which could strike out such magnificent works; and for many years, no national taste which would care to imitate them. A patriot in the days of Augustus, if taunted upon this defect, would probably have made the rudeness and inelegance of his ancestors a topic of admiration; but in comparing the Romans with the Athenians, we cannot deny that the latter were the most polished nation of the two; and as a dictator taken from a plough, or a capitol built of brick, does not excite in us any patriotic feeling,

we may, perhaps, be allowed to sympathize more with the fate of Athens than of Rome."[1]

Although the saying that "Augustus found the capitol of brick, and left it of marble" is probably an epigrammatic exaggeration, yet there is no doubt that this prince, whose reign is proverbially associated with Roman prosperity in its highest state, contributed more than any of his predecessors to the magnificence which made Rome the "fairest of things." Desiring, as we do, to contemplate Rome at her highest pitch of political glory and splendour, let us take a brief view of the times of Augustus Octavianus.

But, before we proceed to this interesting subject, let us bear in mind the fact, that the Rome of Augustus had not by any means attained the architectural perfection which it afterwards boasted. The drunken folly of a Nero, who rivalled in madness the incendiary of the temple at Ephesus, doubtless destroyed most of the principal buildings, but was perhaps beneficial in leading to more scientific arrangements in the reconstruction of the city. At all times, Rome had been an object of admiration and interest. When the barbarian Gauls, who had, centuries before, forced its gates, and penetrated to the forum where the senators sat in solemn conclave, were awed by the grandeur which even then formed so great a contrast to their own rough, wandering homes, well might a Caractacus, fresh from the cavern-dwellings of our own isle, marvel at the love of conquest which could make his humble dominions an object of envy to the possessors of a city of palaces. Even the Greeks, tutored in a more exclusive school of art, severer in their taste, and more reserved in their criticisms, could not deny the wondrous beauty of that city which had proved so fatal to their own prosperity. "Constantius," observes Eustace, "a cold and unfeeling prince, who had visited all the cities of Greece and Asia, and was familiar with the superb exhibitions of Ephesus, Magnesia, and Athens,

[1] Burton, p. 47.

was struck dumb with admiration as he proceeded in triumphal pomp through the streets; but when he entered the forum of Trajan, and beheld all the wonders of that matchless structure, he felt for once a momentary enthusiasm, and burst into exclamations of surprise and astonishment. Strabo, who had traversed Greece in every direction, and was without doubt intimately acquainted with all the beauties of his country, and, like every other Greek, not a little partial to its claims to pre-eminence, describes the magnificence of Rome as an object of transcendant glory, that surpassed expectation, and rose far above all human competition. If Greeks, so jealous of the arts and edifices of their native land; if emperors of the East, who idolized their own capital, and looked with envy on the ornaments of the ancient city,—were thus obliged to pay an involuntary tribute to its superior beauty, we may pardon the well-founded enthusiasm of the Romans themselves, when they represent it as the epitome of the universe, and an abode worthy of the gods. And, indeed, if Virgil, at a time when Augustus had only begun his projected improvements, and the architectural glory of the city was in its dawn, ventured to give it the proud appellation of *rerum pulcherrima*, we may conjecture what it must have been in the reign of Hadrian, when it had received all its decorations, and blazed in its full meridian splendour. Even in its decline, when it had twice experienced barbaric rage, and had seen some of its fairest edifices sink in hostile flames, it was capable of exciting ideas of something more than mortal grandeur, and raising the thoughts of a holy bishop from earth to heaven. After the Gothic war itself, which gave the last blow to the greatness of Rome, when it had been repeatedly besieged, taken, and ransacked, yet then, though stripped of its population, and abandoned with its tottering temples to time and desolation; even then, deformed by barbarism, wasted by pestilence, and bowed down to the ground under the accumulated judgments of Heaven, the 'Eternal City' still retained

its imperial features, nor appeared less than the mistress of the world "[1]

It is indeed certain, that, although literature declined rapidly after the time of Augustus, as well as that the Latin tongue, by its gradual deterioration and admixture with African words and phraseology, proved a corresponding declension in critical taste, architecture still flourished, and the later Roman emperors displayed their zeal or ambition, not only by decorating the capital of their empire, but by restoring, rebuilding, and beautifying the cities of Asia Minor and of the East. We shall hereafter recur to the present state of Rome. At present, the leading features of the Augustan age claim our attention.

Whatever immoralities may disgrace the memory of this prince, he stands out as the patron of literature and art, and as a kind friend and companion in private life. Loving literature for its own sake, his patronage of Virgil and Horace was not a mere display for ostentation's sake, but a rational enjoyment of the society of those who were most capable of making the private hours of a prince agreeable. Mæcenas, a man of equally mixed character with his royal master, was an excellent "introducer" of such companions, and to him must much of the humanizing influence of these most popular of poets be ascribed.

But the literature of this age, and of the period immediately preceding it, cannot be regarded as original in any sense of the word. The Romans had long benefited by the thoughts of the Athenian sages and poets. Even the prefaces of Cicero to his philosophical works teemed with allusions to the works of those wise men to whose instruction he had committed his son Marcus,[2] while his pleasing, but not often sound reasonings have been amusingly characterized as "Plato and water." Julius Cæsar's Commentaries, on the contrary, which were never intended to take the place

[1] Eustace's Classical Tour.
[2] Cf. Cicero de Off. Præf. s. i.

of a regular history, are distinguished by a simple elegance of language that equals the choicest Latinity of Cicero, as well as by an original *naïveté* of style, which shews his genuine enjoyment of a subject in which he had borne so conspicuous a part.

By the poets of this time, though they had for the most part cast off the rough Latinity in which Pacuvius and Ennius, and subsequently, but in a more softened form, Catullus and Lucretius, had written, metrical rules were adhered to with more strictness, harmony of rhythm and cadence more studied, than before. But still, all was imitation of the Greeks. Do we admire the Eclogues of Virgil? What is there but Theocritus, the Syracusan bucolist, pruned, it is true, of much indelicacy, and oftentimes expanded with singular felicity of treatment and design. Again, the Æneid is but a cento of the best passages of Homer and Apollonius, blent with singular felicity into one narrative, heightened by all the charms of language, and by a delicacy of pathos, in which Virgil stood pre-eminent. The Georgics possess more claims to originality, as far as their richness in allusions purely Italian go, but here, too, Hesiod, Aratus, and Nicander cross our path. Equally dependent upon the Greeks are the minor poets of this period: in short, it is an age in which luxury has chastened and refined taste, while it has destroyed originality.

The progress of the arts was on a steady advance. Even the atrocious peculations and violence of a Verres had been useful in raising the standard of taste, and it furnishes the best objects for its employment. Architecture, painting, and sculpture, all throve rapidly, and Rome vied with its luxurious Pompeian neighbours in the elegance of her palaces and private dwellings, while her dilletanti vied with one another in collecting the choicest rarities from every clime. Peace throughout the greater part of the world favoured this happy state of things, and the "golden age" truly seemed to have returned under the mild dominion of Augustus.

But as literature fell, so did architecture improve at Rome; and when the feeble writings of an Antoninus, or the heavy, powerless compositions of the "writers of the Augustan history," had taken the place of the nervous, manly language of a Tacitus, the rage for building went on as hotly as ever. In fact, an almost morbid taste for rearing vast edifices, and for building over tracts which before scarcely possessed a single inhabitant, is sometimes a witness of approaching downfall. It was so with Rome. Attentive to the beautifying of cities, sometimes too remote to be faithful allies, she sapped her domestic strength; and by spreading her resources too widely apart from each other, crippled the strength that had been accumulated by the persevering labours and untiring energy of the great men of so many centuries. A prey to disaffection at home, and to the incursions of an overwhelming horde of barbarians from without, ancient Rome fell. To its present degraded state, we shall briefly advert in our concluding remarks.

Let us now take a slight view of the forum, the grand scene of the struggles of a people for a liberty they could so readily lose in the former scene of their victory; the place where a Virginius had sacrificed his child to preserve her honour, and where the corpse of Cæsar had been made to preach a mute sermon that extinguished the last breath of expiring freedom. Let us think of it, when palaces and temples reared themselves one above another, and seemed to blend their marble façades with the warm Italian sky that encompassed so delicious a picture.

It lay between the Capitoline and Palatine hills; it was eight hundred feet wide, and adorned on all sides with porticos, shops, and other edifices; on the erection of which immense sums had been expended, and the appearance of which was very imposing, especially as it was much enhanced by numerous statues. What emotions must have been raised within the minds of the people on gazing at these statues!

How many grudges, how much strife, how much pleasure was awakened to recollection by their presence; connected as they were with all the ancient tales the priests disseminated, the patricians derided, and the plebs believed. What must be the feelings of the modern traveller who gazes on the relics left of this busy mart and throng of men! In the middle was the mysterious plain called the Curtian Lake, into which, when it gaped for a victim, Curtius, as the old fable related, plunged full armed, to avert the fate impending over Rome. What a shout his countrymen sent up to Jove, as the yawning gulf, appeased by the sacrifice of the bravest man of Rome, closed for ever. On one side were the elevated seats from which the orators addressed their energetic appeals to the Romans, and the magistrates their "wise saws and modern instances." These benches or pulpits were called Rostra, because they were decorated with the beaks of the vessels taken in a naval engagement with the inhabitants of Antium. In the vicinity was situated that portion of the forum, named the Comitium, where the assemblies of the people, called Comitia Curiata, were held. In the direction of the Via Sacra, stood the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, and that mentioned already under the name of the Church of St. Theodore, and then known as the temple of Romulus and Remus. Farther on, also on the left hand, was the temple of Peace, and the arch of Titus, "both," as Wood observes,[1] "monuments of the destruction of Jerusalem." Farther still, rises the glorious fragments of the yet stately Colosseum, grander, perhaps, in its desolation than when Rome boasted its most glorious era.

On the hill, the highest of the seven, stood the Capitol, the centre of the wishes and the hopes of Rome. The ascent to this mighty fortress-temple was by a flight of a hundred steps. It was at once the oldest, largest, and grandest building in the city.

[1] Letters of an Architect, t. i. p. 327.

It extended for two hundred feet on each side, as it was square in form. Its gates were of brass, and it was adorned with costly gildings. The walls enclosed three principal structures. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in the centre, the temple of Juno on the left, and the temple of Minerva on the right. Some small chapels were also comprehended within the boundaries of the buildings, and also the Casa Romuli, or cottage of Romulus,—the thatch-covered building to which the superstitious mob of Rome looked up with so much respect and admiration. The Basilicæ, of which we shall speak hereafter, were also in this neighbourhood. Ascending the Palatine, we pause at the ruins of the palaces of the Cæsars.

"The long vaults, where a partial destruction admits a gleam of daylight to their deep recesses; the terraces, which seem to bid defiance to time; the half domes, and solid piers, attesting the grandeur of their ancient construction; the walls fringed with shrubs, principally evergreen; the very intricacy of the plan, and the mixture of kitchen-gardens and vineyards, where once the voice of harmony resounded through lofty halls decorated with the finest productions of art; all impress the mind with the recollection of past glory."[1]

The view from the Palatine is interesting, and the prospect varied. Many of the principal buildings are to be seen from this point. Below the mount, is the temple of Romulus; farther left, is that consecrated to Vesta; between both, was the arch of Janus; in the immediate neighbourhood was the temple of Castor and Pollux; and not very far distant, that of Apollo. "All these names," observes Wood, "and almost every inch of ground, is disputed by the Roman antiquaries; but about such dissensions the imagination does not trouble herself." In fact, as I have already observed in reference to ancient Roman legends, we find too much pleasure in believing, to wish to give way to the

[1] Wood, t. i. p. 328.

scepticism even of a Niebuhr. Besides, it has been well remarked by Burton,[1] "if we must have visible objects on which to fix our attention, we have the ground itself, on which the Romans trod; we have the Seven Hills; we have the Campus Martius; the Forum; all places familiar to us from history, and in which we can assign the precise spot where some memorable action was performed. Those who feel a gratification in placing their footsteps where Cicero or Cæsar did before them, in the consciousness of standing upon the same hill which Manlius defended, and in all those associations which bring the actors themselves upon the scene, may have all their enthusiasm satisfied, and need not complain that there are no monuments of the Republic. Rome is, indeed, a melancholy wreck of what it was; but the circuit of the walls being the same at this moment as in the time of the Emperor Aurelian, we have so far a point of connection between former times and our own; and what is wanting in many ancient cities,—we can positively identify the limits which it occupied. But in Rome we can do more: from the records of history, we can trace the gradual increase of the city from the time when Romulus had his cottage on the Capitol, to the final extension of the walls by Aurelian."

I have now to crave my reader's attention on a painful subject. Whatever may be the anxiety of the Christian on behalf of the Jews, who to this day persist in withholding their belief in Him whom their forefathers crucificed, and dispiriting as is the comparatively small success of the attempts made for their conversion, the state of Papal Rome is a subject fraught with a no less painful interest. It is fearful to contemplate the degraded condition of the *lazzaroni* of modern Italy, and, in their listless and profligate lounging, to read the demoralizing influence of Popery. Licentious indifference to the duties of common life are ill atoned by the purchased pardon or indulgence of a priest:

[1] Antiquities of Rome, p. 47, sq.

little does the pomp and luxury of the Papal processions agree with the characteristics of the "fisherman's son." Yet there is a stern vitality in Romanism that mocks our understanding, although we cannot deny its existence. Romanism is a riddle, the interpretation of which lies but too deeply in the dark passions and most inward failings of mankind. Yet does not the fact. that the Papal authority is to this hour supported by the soldiery of a neighbouring nation, little remarkable for its religious or believing tendency, sadly satirize the assumption of the keys of heaven and earth by a so-called prince, who cannot retain the keys of his own city? It is for God alone to decree and bring about the great change that shall substitute healthful employment for almsgiving, the Bible for the breviary, and the Gospel for tradition. God send the day be not far off!

Superstition took its birth from Rome, and stoutly has Rome nurtured the sturdy bantling that is now sapping her vitals, and consuming her population with the disease of sloth and ignorance. Relics the most apocryphal, traditions the most extravagant, take their stand by the side of the saints of the New Testament and the inspired word of the Almighty. The dome of St. Peter's rears its head proudly above every surrounding structure, and claims for itself that pre-eminence which the Apostle disclaimed. How unmeaning is such a conception of Peter's character? How utterly at variance with Scripture, or with the simplest evidence drawn from a knowledge of human nature! To this day, it is matter of uncertain tradition whether St. Peter ever was at Rome at all; and surely, had such an idea as Papal supremacy ever formed a part of the Christian dispensation, it would have been established on a safer and sounder footing than on the doubtful interpretation of a single text of Scripture.

Eustace, describing the Basilica of St. Peter, has the following pertinent remarks:—

"The Basilica of St. Peter was the first and noblest

religious edifice erected by Constantine. It stood on part of the circus of Nero, and was supposed to occupy a spot consecrated by the blood of numberless martyrs, exposed or slaughtered in that place of public amusement by order of the tyrant. But its principal and exclusive advantage was the possession of the body of St. Peter,—a circumstance which raised it in credit and consideration above the Basilica Lateranensis; dignified its threshold with the honourable appellation of the Limina Apostolorum, or the Threshold of the Apostles; and secured to it the first place in the affection and reverence of the Christian world. Not only monks and bishops, but princes and emperors visited its sanctuary with devotion, and even kissed, as they approached, the marble steps that led to its portal. Nor was this reverence confined to the orthodox monarchs who sat on the throne of its founder; it extended to barbarians, and more than once converted a cruel invader into a suppliant votary. The Vandal Genseric, whose heart seldom felt emotions of mercy, while he plundered every house and temple with unrelenting fury, spared the treasures deposited under the roof of the Vatican Basilica, and even allowed the plate of the churches to be carried in solemn pomp to its inviolable altars. Totila, who in a moment of vengeance had sworn that he would bury the glory and the memory of Rome in its ashes, listened to the admonitions of the pontiff, and resigned his fury at the tomb of the apostles.

"Every age, as it passed over the Vatican, seemed to add to its holiness and dignity; and the coronation of an emperor, or the installation of a pope, the deposition of the remains of a prince, or the enshrinement of the reliques of a saint, appeared as so many new claims to the veneration of the Christian world. At length, however, after eleven centuries of glory, the walls of the ancient Basilica began to give way, and symptoms of approaching ruin were become so visible about the year 1450, that Nicholas V. conceived the

project of taking down the old church, and erecting in its stead a new and more extensive structure."

I have too little taste for the bitterness of religious controversy to enter farther into the history of St. Peter's at Rome, or to desire to dwell upon the corruptions with which Romanism stands attainted. Let all sects find that there are certain common principles of Christianity, from which no one may swerve; let them agree on those points, and true Catholicism and liberty of conscience will reign together. But for the *ipse dixit* of Papal power, Christendom is no longer the field. Neander[1] has well proved "that the idea of the primacy of St. Peter rested on nothing but a misunderstanding both of the position which had been assigned him in the progressive movement of the Church, as also of the particular titles which were given to him." Popery is a splendid religious mistake, and a fatal one, because destitute of the inestimable elements of a healthy and moderate tendency to self-reformation.

[1] Eccl. Hist. i. p. 295.

SCANDINAVIA.[1]

To the north of the countries of which we have been speaking in the previous chapters, there is a large extent of territory, known by the name of Scandinavia, comprehending modern Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, North Prussia, and Poland.

In this land dwelt the valiant but predatory tribes, to whose distaste for art and literature we owe the loss of much that is beautiful and valuable in both; and on the other hand, to whom we owe the liberty we possess, by their having thundered down into those southern lands where the iron hand of temporal despotism then ruled the world. The shrewd and witty author of the "Spirit of the Laws," has an observation which it may not be inapposite to transfer to these pages.

"The great prerogative of Scandinavia," says Montesquieu, "and what ought to recommend its inhabitants beyond every people upon earth, is, that they afforded the great resource to the liberty of Europe; that is, to almost all the liberty that is among men. The Goth Jornandes calls the north of Europe the forge of mankind. I should rather call it the forge of those instruments which broke the fetters manufactured in the south. It was there those valiant nations were bred, who left their climes to destroy tyrants and slaves, and to teach men that nature having made them equal, no reason could be assigned for their becoming dependent, but their mutual happiness."

It is sad to know that the conception of this lively

[1] For this chapter on Scandinavia, its colonies and its legends, I am indebted to Mackenzie.

and feeling writer is more pleasant and brilliant, than borne out by the truth.

If they have deprived us of some portion of that lore which has lasted for so many ages, they have recompensed us by leaving behind them (for their very ghosts are dead!) a rich store of legendary poetry and interesting facts. Of these facts, and of this poetry, it is our intention to offer some account in the few following pages, and to shew, that, widely severed as their ideas and customs would at first sight seem from those of the southern countries, to which this volume has been chiefly devoted, yet that they are not, in truth, so very dissimilar and distinct.

"History has not recorded the annals of a people," says Mallet,[1] "who have occasioned greater, more sudden, or more numerous revolutions in Europe than the Scandinavians, or whose antiquities at the same time are so little known. Had, indeed, their immigrations been only like those sudden torrents of which all traces and remembrance are soon effaced, the indifference that has been shewn to them would have been sufficiently justified by the barbarism they have been reproached with. But during those general inundations the face of Europe underwent so total a change, and during the confusion they occasioned, such different establishments took place; new societies were formed, animated so entirely with a new spirit, that the history of our own manners and institutions ought necessarily to ascend back, and even dwell a considerable time, upon a period which discovers to us their chief origin and source.

"But I ought not barely to assert this. Permit me to support the assertion by proofs. For this purpose, let us briefly run over all the different revolutions which this part of the world underwent, during the long course of ages which its history comprehends, in order to see what share the nations of the north have had

[1] Mallet's Northern Antiquities, preface pp. 55 57, ed. Blackwell, 1847.

in producing them. If we recur back to the remotest times, we observe a nation issuing step by step from the forests of Scythia, incessantly increasing and dividing, to take possession of the uncultivated countries which are met with in its progress. Very soon after, we see the same people, like a tree full of vigour, extend in long branches all over Europe; we see them also carrying with them, wherever they came, from the borders of the Black Sea to the extremities of Spain, of Sicily, and Greece, a religion simple and martial as themselves, a form of government dictated by good sense and liberty, a restless unconquered spirit, apt to take fire at the very mention of subjection and constraint, and a ferocious courage, nourished by a savage and vagabond life. While the gentleness of the climate softened imperceptibly the ferocity of those who settled in the south, colonies of Egyptians and Phœnicians, mixing with them upon the coasts of Greece, and thence passing over to those of Italy, taught them at last to live in cities, to cultivate letters, arts, and commerce. Thus their opinions, their customs, and genius were blended together, and new states were formed upon new plans. Rome in the mean time arose, and at length carried all before her. In proportion as she increased in grandeur, she forgot her ancient manners, and destroyed, among the nations whom she overpowered, the original spirit with which they were animated. But this spirit continued unaltered in the colder countries of Europe, and maintained itself there like the independency of the inhabitants. Scarce could fifteen or sixteen centuries produce there any change in that spirit. There it renewed itself incessantly; for, during the whole of that long interval, new adventurers, issuing continually from the original inexhaustible country, trod upon the heels of their fathers, towards the north, and being in their turn succeeded by new troops of followers, they pushed one another forward like the waves of the sea. The northern countries, thus overstocked, and unable any

longer to contain such restless inhabitants, equally greedy of glory and plunder, discharged at length upon the Roman empire the weight that oppressed them? The empire, ill-defended by a people whom prosperity had enervated, were borne down on all sides by torrents of victorious armies. We then see the conquerors introducing among the nations they vanquished — viz., into the very bosom of slavery and sloth,—that spirit of independence and equality, that elevation of soul, that taste for rural and military life, which both the one and the other had originally derived from the same common source, but which were then among the Romans breathing their last. Dispositions and principles so opposite struggled long with forces sufficiently equal; but they united in the end; they coalesced together; and from their coalition sprang those principles and that spirit which governed afterwards almost all the states of Europe, and which, notwithstanding the differences of climate, of religion, and particular accidents, do still visibly reign in them, and retain to this day, more or less, the traces of their first common origin."

So able, so terse, and so comprehensive a sketch as the foregoing, coming, too, from such an authority as M. Mallet, will plead an ample apology for its introduction here, before proceeding to give a view of the social life, manners, and legends of the nations of the north, of whom the southern writers, and amongst them even the laughter-loving and keen Cervantes, in his Persiles and Sigismunda, loved to give a dark and exaggerated description.

As, perhaps, the most curious point concerning the Scandinavians is their religious belief, I would prefer a brief consideration of it, to speaking of any other points connected with them.

In all early times, and among all secluded nations, notions on religion assimilate nearer to the few plain doctrines implanted in our nature at the beginning of time itself. This was most plainly to be seen among

the tribes who settled in the northern parts of Europe in the early ages of migration and colonization. Whence these tribes came, it would be fruitless and of no utility to inquire: it is enough for the purposes of our sketch to state, that they seem to have arrived there at a very early era from some more southern country. Mallet remarks, in speaking of their early faith, that "the farther back we ascend to the era of the creation, the more plainly we discover traces of this conformity among the several nations of the earth; but in proportion as we see them dispersed to form distant settlements and colonies, they seem to swerve from their original ideas, and to assume new forms of religion." [1]

Their religious system would appear to have been very simple. It taught that there was "a supreme God, master of the universe, to whom all things were submissive and obedient." Mallet says, that such was the chief Deity of the Teutons according to Tacitus, who, as Gibbon [2] appositely observed, "employed a few lines, and Cluverius one hundred and twenty-four pages, on this obscure subject. The former discovers in Germany the gods of Greece and Rome. The latter is positive, that under the emblems of the sun, the moon, and the fire, his pious ancestors worshipped the Trinity in unity." Of the scholar, I have nothing to say; but I put it to the reader, whether the authority of the Latin historian on their religion is of any value, when his crude speculations on the origin of the Teutons are as follows:—

"I am inclined to believe the Germans to be indigenous; for, in ancient times, those who were desirous of changing their residence did not usually travel by land but by sea." [3]

[1] Mallet, ed. Blackwell, p. 87, whence the substance of the following account is chiefly derived.

[2] Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ed. Milman, t. i. chap. ix. p. 390, n. 62.

[3] Ipsos Germanos indigenas crediderim—quia nec terra olim,

What credit can we attach to so unphilosophical and puerile an idea? A more unhappy sentence never, perhaps, flowed from his generally happily-guided pen. To return, however, to the Scandinavian religion.

This Supreme Intelligence, answering to the Shang-te and Taou of Laou-Tszè and Tëen of Kung-foo-tsze (Confucius), the Auramazda of the Behistún inscription, the Tonacateuctli of the Mexicans, and the mysterious Creative Principle of the Sanskrit Vedas, is called in the ancient Icelandic mythology "the Author of everything that existeth: the eternal, the ancient, the living, and awful Being, the searcher into concealed things, the Being that never changeth." Infinite power, boundless knowledge, incorruptible justice were attributed to this supreme Deity, and, just as the Prophet of the East interdicted any corporeal representation of Allah, so were the followers of this "pursuing" divinity prohibited from attempting to ascribe any visible form to him. In woods and sacred groves alone, they thought he could be served with due dignity. As a noble modern poet[1] has sung, so could one of these have exclaimed to the worshipper within circumscribed walls—

"Go thou and seek the House of Prayer!
I to the woodlands bend my way,
And meet religion there!
She needs not haunt the high arch'd dome to pray,
Where storied windows dim the doubtful day;
At liberty she loves to rove,
Wide o'er the heathy hill or cowslipt dale;
Or seek the shelter of the embowering grove,
Or with the streamlet wind along the vale.
Sweet are these scenes to her; and when the Night
Pours in the North her silver streams of light,
She woos reflection in the silent gloom,
And ponders on the world to come."

---

sed classibus, advehebantur, qui mutare sedes quærebant [volebant].—De Morib. German. § ii. t. iv. p. 4, ed. Oberlin, Paris, 1820.

[1] Southey, in his Lines Written on a Sunday Morning at Bristol, 1795. Works, p. 122.

In the solitary woods which still abound in the North, the primitive Scandinavian bent in prayer; fixing his thoughts upon the abstracted Essence of Divinity his creed taught him to adore; in these forests "He seemed to reign in silence, and to make Himself felt by the respect which He inspired." To attribute a form to this Deity would have been sacrilege among the Scandinavians, and in this point they much resembled the Persians and Ninevites, who seem to have considered their Auramazda as the principle of motion, representing him as a winged being in a circle; but there was this difference between the Northern and Southern faiths, that the Persian appears to have undergone some modification, the Auramazda of Behistún having a human face and form. Probably, the still more changed faith of the Egyptians had some share in bringing forth the variation from the primitive idea of the Deity in the Orient. I am supported in my presumption by the fact that in the Mexican picture-writing, the idea of God is represented by a rudely sketched, but decidedly marked circle, precisely as Auramazda surrounds by a circle.[1] The circle is the emblem of eternity, and the form of the universe. Another remarkable fact to be evolved from this is, the evident knowledge that the believers in the most ancient creeds possessed of the science of geometry—a science, by the way, which is not understood now to the degree it was among those nations whose part is played in history, and whose bones moulder in the forgotten crypts of unknown pyramids, tumuli, and barrows.

From the Supreme Divinity (so ran the belief of the Scandinavians) there proceeded a number of inferior, but yet powerful principles, each ruling in a certain manner a certain part of nature, such as the

[1] I omitted, in my remarks on the Casa del Gobernador at Uxmal, at p. 256, to notice the fact of the thirteen doors of that palace corresponding with the number of the months of a lunar year.

sun, moon, stars, fire, and earth; each and all had a peculiar genius. To a certain extent, the germs of the widely-spread system of elves, dwarfs, trolls, nisses, necks, mermen, and mermaids, prevailed, but not to the extent that it did when the religion, as will presently be seen, became degraded from its solemnity and purity. The Spirits of Earth and Air were in their minds, but not as Spirits of Ill. With them, at that time, the Avenging Spirit was the Spirit of Justice, who saw with pleasure and rewarded those who acted well, but punished the wicked. Mallet sums up the religious code of the Scandinavians in the following words:—

"They looked up to Him as to the active principle, which by uniting with the earth, or passive principle, had produced men, animals, plants, and all visible beings; they even believed that he was the only agent in nature who preserves the several beings, and disposes of all events. To serve this divinity with sacrifices and prayers, to do no wrong to others, and to be brave and intrepid in themselves, were all the moral consequences they derived from these doctrines."[1]

In conclusion, a belief in the most cheering of the Christian dogmas "cemented and completed the whole building."[2] And here I may remark, that no doctrine, except that of a supreme and subtly-pervading

[1] Northern Antiquities, p. 89.

[2] With the Scandinavian ideas on this subject, compare the following passage from Mariner's Tonga Islands, ii. p. 121:—

"Respecting the human soul, in particular, they imagine it to be the finer or more aëriform part of the body, and which leaves it suddenly at the moment of death; and it may be conceived to stand much in the same relation to the body as the perfume and more essential qualities of a flower do to the more solid substance which constitutes the vegetable fibre. They have no proper word to express this fine ethereal part of man. As to the word *loto*, though it may be sometimes used for this purpose, it rather means a man's disposition, inclination, passion, or sentiment. The soul is rather supposed to exist throughout the whole extension of the body, but particularly in the heart, the pulsation of which is the strength and power of

Deity, is so extended, and has retained its primitive form so distinctly, as a belief in immortality, and a future state of rewards and punishments. Among the most savage races, the idea of a future existence in a place of delight is found; and above all other distinct ideas of the manner and locality of enjoyment, that of a garden is most prevalent. Even the Polynesians, and in particular the Friendly Islanders, are not excluded from this refreshing portion of universal religion (viz. those principles and ideas, the foundation of every religion), for in the north-west they have their Bolotoo afar off, still cherishing in their minds, through the lapse of ages, a fond remembrance of the land of their parentage—the continent of Asia. As among the Polynesians, whose habits and customs (varied only by warmth of climate and the modifying circumstances connected with a dissimilarity of the productions of the earth, and the face of nature generally) resemble those of the nations which forced their way into Germany and Scandinavia, so nearly as to shew that they came of the same stock, so also among the Scandinavians, a beautiful garden and palace, where the beer of the North and the cava of the South abounded, was the paradise whither they expected to return after death, and spending eternity in pleasure, reap the profits of the hard existence and perils of this life. When Mongols forced their way over the ice of Behring's Straits to America, and Malays put to sea and colonized Polynesia, then, too, the Tatar-Malay tribes of Thibet moved westward, and taking with them a similar faith, they entered Scandinavia.[1]

the soul or mind. They have no clear distinction between the life and the soul, but they will tell you that the *fotomanava* (the right auricle of the heart) is the seat of life."

The last idea is far from incorrect, and coincides with the Platonic doctrine of the soul being situated in the midst of the body. At Tonga, however, the immortality of the soul is only partly believed.

[1] It is true that Mr. Blackwell, in his edition, denies that the

Then the pure religion of the Pelasgi of the North faltered, the new race, hardened by travel, conquered the others, or rather, as is curiously peculiar to the races of the North, they amalgamated and became one people. The features of the religion gradually and imperceptibly altered, and assumed the new form I shall endeavour to sketch, by the assistance of the work to which I have so often alluded.

"The most striking alteration," continues Mallet,[1] "in the doctrines of the primitive religion was in the number of the gods who were to be worshipped. A capital point in the ancient dogmas was that pre-eminence I have been describing, of one only all-powerful and perfect Being over all the other intelligences with which universal nature was peopled. But men becoming, in all appearance, weary of this simplicity of religion, associated to the supreme God many of those genii or subaltern divinities who had been always subordinate to him. As these differed rather in degree of power than in essence, the transition was very easy to a people who were not very refined and subtle. . . . This is what happened in Scandinavia. In process of time, that supreme Being, the idea of whom takes in all existence, was restrained to one particular province, and passed among the generality of the inhabitants for the God of War. No object, in their opinion, could be more worthy his attention, nor more proper to shew forth his power. Hence those pictures which are left us of him in the Icelandic mythology, where he is always meant under the name of Odin. He is there called the terrible and severe God; the father of slaughter; he who giveth victory, and reviveth courage in the conflict; who nameth those who are to be slain. The

primitive Scandinavian religion was monotheistic, but his arguments, notwithstanding the learning they exhibit, fail to convince me that the original religion of the North was polytheistic. The world's progress has been from monotheism to polytheism, and thence by a signal interference of Providence, back again to monotheism.

[1] P. 90, sqq.

warriors who went to battle made a vow to send him a certain number of souls, which they consecrated to him; these souls were Odin's right; he received them in Valhalla, his ordinary place of residence, where he rewarded all such as died sword in hand. . . . The assistance of the Deity was implored in every war that was undertaken; to him the vows of both parties were addressed; and it was believed that he often descended to intermix in the conflict himself, to inflame the fury of the combatants, to strike those who were to perish, and to carry their souls to his celestial abodes. This terrible Deity who took such pleasure in shedding the blood of man, was, at the same time, according to the Icelandic mythology, their father and creator."

According to the Edda, Odin "liveth and governeth during the ages; he directeth everything which is high and everything which is low; whatever is great and whatever is small: he hath made the heaven, the air, and man, who is to live for ever; and before the heaven and the earth existed, this god lived already with the giants."

Such was Odin, the God of War.

But, as in the Chinese Mythology (see p. 166) there were the two principles of production, the *yin* and the *yang;* as in Mexico, Yex-nextli, or Eve, assumed the second rank in the mythology; so in Hellas there was attributed to Hera a corresponding rank to that of Zeus; as in the Pacific, the Friendly, Fiiji, and Hamoa islanders imagined an island to exist in the north-west, like Bolotoo, but peopled with females,—so also among the later Scandinavians, Frigga, the female principle, and wife of Odin, was worshipped. She was Goddess of the Earth, and the same with the Hertha of the Isle of Rügen[2] and Heligoland. The same attributes are

[1] Mariner's Tonga Islands, t. ii. p. 116. One of the best, most comprehensive, and interesting works that has been written on any subject connected with the Pacific.

[2] I must still agree with Cluverius (Germ. Antiq. p. 134), given against such authority as that of Bishop Percy, since the

given her in all mythology, but as so many accounts are given of this primitive goddess, it is unnecessary to dwell upon her. I may remark, however, that, in the Polynesian and Mexican faiths, the idea of the female principle mixing with the male is by no means apparent. Indeed, the account given by the Friendly Islanders varies considerably from all cosmogonies I have ever seen.[1]

Freyja, the Goddess of Love, whose power and importance none will suppose to be less than that of Frigga, was another important goddess. She presided over all matters connected with marriage; but, contrary to the representation of her in all other systems of mythology, a spice of ferocity which is found only in the Scandinavian and Mexican mythologies,—"she went to war as well as Odin, and divided with him the souls of the slain." It was probable that their own ferocity induced them to attribute a like enjoyment to their fierce "lover of smiles."[2] From Freyja we derive our Friday (Germ. *Freitag—Dies Veneris*).

The god next in rank to Odin was Thor, and the attributes of this deity were as equally extended among Mahommedans and Hebrews, Buddhists, Polynesians, and Mexicans, as were those of the Supreme Deity. He used to carry a mallet with which to strike in battle; his gauntlets were of iron; and he seemed to have, like the goddess of Hellas, a species of cestus, or sacred girdle, which renewed his strength when he put it on. This girdle I have seen represented in the Codex Tgervaryanus,[3] which proves that it was not altogether unknown to the Mexicans, as it would appear the strange Teutonic and Gaulic practice (still to be seen in some of our churches on stained glass) of

current of tradition in Pomerania and Rügen runs so strongly against the supposition of Heligoland being the principal seat of Hertha's worship.

[1] See Mariner, t. i. p. 221; t. ii. 118, sqq.

[2] Homer, Il. γ. 424, φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη.

[3] A fac-simile of which is preserved in the British Museum.—Additional MSS. No. 9789. The original is at Pesth.

representing the god as standing on the back of some animal was also, as may be seen in the same Codex. The latter practice was also known to the Indians. The ash, Yggdrassil of the Scandinavians, answers to the sacred tree of the Ninevites, and the tree of Understanding of the Mexicans. The Cyclopean myths are found, too, here, as among the Polynesians, who suppose that the world is sustained by a giant, named Moooi.

These were the principal deities worshipped by the Scandinavian tribes; and as it is not our intention to write an elaborate treatise on the religion which forms the chain by which these nearly-related but far-separated tribes may again be united in the pages of the early history of the world, instead of, therefore, taking up space by enumerating the names and attributes of deities, which will never be understood until the extensive existence of mysticism among all the nations of antiquity is not only acknowledged, but examined and explained (for all these things are capable of explanation), I shall pass on to speak of the legendary lore which presents so attractive a prospect to the student.

I said, in a former page, that the principal legendary beings were elves, dwarfs or trolls, nisses, necks mermen, and mermaids; I shall now shew how the races of Scandinavia, Polynesia, Mesopotamia, and Hellas have even these superstitions in common. And first of the important section of these beings, the trolls. In Hellas, the trolls and nisses were commonly enough known as Kobaloi (answering to the German Kobold);[1] in Polynesia, among the Friendly Islands, as the *Hotooa Pow*, or "mischievous gods;"[2] the Mesopotamian legend was related to Rich when at Babylon,[3]

[1] Cf. Aristoph. Equites, 450, ed. Dindf.; ejusdem, 635; Plutus, 279; Aristoteles, H. A. 8, 12. 12. edit. Bekker.

[2] Mariner's Tonga Islands, t. ii. p. 110. "They lead travellers astray, trip them up, pinch them, jump upon their backs in the dark, and cause the nightmare and frightful dreams."—Mariner.

[3] See p. 31 of the present volume.

and is confirmed by a passage of Scripture (Isa. xiii. 21): even among the far off builders of the desert city of Uxmal, a sort of troll is spoken of,—see the legend I have transcribed from Stephens;[1] analogous to these creatures, too, was the Phooka of Ireland, and the Ghoul of Persia. The elves answer to the daughters of the Tonga gods, and the female island (a version, probably, of the island of Calypso) before alluded to, and to the female *Djin* of the Oriental wandering tribes. The mermen are of the same race as Proteus. But on this interesting subject, I am sure the reader will excuse a reference to Keightley's Fairy Mythology, and Grimm's Deutsche Mythologie, where he will find a sufficient mass of learning and interesting matter connected with "the good people."

My limits will not permit me to enter on the manners and social customs of this peculiar race, which were as wild as their religion: but, before closing the chapter, I have a few short remarks to offer to my readers, on a subject which they will have seen it was my object to enforce throughout that portion of this work which was from my pen.

Among the nations of China, of America, of Scandinavia, and of Polynesia, to which I have here invited the reader's attention, the greatest truths are veiled under the semblance of the most common things,—things which on a cursory view would not be observed. But when, as study has taught, these matters are closely examined, a vein of divine truth is found running through the most insignificant portions of the pages of their Religious, Political, and Social History. These curious facts, instead of being opposed to the testimony of Holy Writ, as many would be inclined to exclaim, corroborate that part of the Scripture susceptible of proof by later history in a most extraordinary manner.

There is a new era to approach in historical investigation; and this new era I have attempted to shadow forth in some-wise. Before taking leave, however, of

[1] P. 259.

the reader, I shall submit to him a reflection of the excellent and unwearied ethnographist, Dr. Pickering,[1] a reflection which has dwelt in my mind ever since I first perused the passage:—

"If the human family has had a central origin, and has gradually and regularly diffused itself, followed by the principal inventions and discoveries, the history of man would then be inscribed on the globe itself; and each new revolution obliterating more or less of the preceding, his primitive condition should be found at the furthest remove from the geographic centre: as, in the case of a pebble dropped into the water, the earliest wave keeps most distant from the point of origin." . . . . "On the other side of the globe, in the vast space between Arabia and the coast of America, traces of successive waves in society seem actually to exist."

Following out this sentence, by a train of patient investigations, I have been led to the elimination of a few truths, and a sense of the presence of many more. Yet does the saying of Newton spring to my mind, — "I feel like a little child picking up a few pebbles on the sea-shore, by the waves of the ocean of Truth."

[1] Races of Man, chap. xvi. p. 290.



INDEX.

A

Addison quoted, 99.
Æschylus, 300, 334-337.
Agamemnon, 334-337.
Alexander the Great, 25, 52, 65; occupies Damascus, 85; siege of Tyre, 117-118.
American civilization, its progress shewn in the description of the pyramids, 252-253; the palaces, 255; and the fortified mounds of the Mississippi Valley, 264.
Ammon, the Egyptian Jupiter, 45, 50-51.
Antigonus, 118, 125.
Antoninus Pius, 75-76, 95.
Aristotle, 313-14.
Aristophanes, 301-305.
Athens, 274; description of, 291; history, 289; fall and present state, 294; literature, 300-315, *n.*
Augustus Octavianus, his reign, 350.

B

Baalbek or Baalgad, history and description, 93-102.
Babel, tower of, 7-10, 26.
Babylon, description of, 7-35; allusions to, 36, 39, 44-45, 47, 63, 66.
Bartiya, the pseudo-Smerdis, history of, 75-76.
Behistún the ancient Baghistane, 73-75.
Behistún, inscription translated and quoted, 74-75; history epitomized, 75-77.
Benjamin of Tuleda quoted, 88, 93, 109.
Bolotoo, the Polynesian paradise, 369.
Brackenridge's Letter to Jefferson quoted, 264.
Brahma, the Indian deity, 137-150.
Bruce quoted, 120.
Buchanan quoted, 142, *n.*
Buckingham quoted, 211.
Buddhism, history of, 137-155, 177-186.
Burckhardt quoted, 125-126.
Burton quoted, 357.

C

Cæsar, Julius, 352.
Camillus, 342, 345-6.
Carli described, 141-143.
Carne quoted, 88-89.
Casa del Gobernador described, 255.
Castlereagh quoted, 89, 90, 210.
Catherwood quoted, 255.

Catullus, 353.
Cholula described, 253-254.
Chebel Minar described, 65-70.
China, 156, 186.
Chinese inscription, 162.
Cicero, 352.
Cluverius, 365.
Codrus, king of Athens, 280.
Confucius quoted, 165, *n.*
——— life of, 168-177.
Corinth, history of, 316-326.
Crusaders, history of, 202-208.
Cyrus, of Persia, 21-23, 66; his tomb described, 80, sq.

D

Damascus, history of, 84-92.
Darius of Persia, 26, 63-64, 73.
David the Psalmist, 111, 188-192.
Davis quoted, 177.
Demosthenes, life of, 307-311.
Dennis quoted, 338, 340-342, 344.
Diospolis, or Abydos, 46.

E

Eadie quoted, 77.
Edda quoted, 366.
Edom, the country of, 122-124.
Egypt, the land of, 40-49.
Elephanta, cave of, 137.
Elis described, 327-330.
Ellora described, 140, seq.
Emerson quoted, 244-245.
Ephesus described, 232-238.
Erskine quoted, 138.
Esau, history of, 122-124.
Eustace quoted, 350, 358.
Evander, cottage of, 347.
Ezekiel quoted, 40, 41, 42, 112-114, 115, 131.

F

Fouchér quoted, 72.
Fort-Ancient, on the Miami described, 265.
Freyja, 372.
Frigga, 371.

G

Gibbon quoted, 236, 365.
Goldingham quoted, 139.
Graves quoted, 224.
Grimm, 374.

H

Heeren quoted, 9, 49, 71, 279, 285, 289, 299, 307-311, 316, 328.
Heber quoted, 140-143.
Heliopolis described, 55-62.
Herodotus quoted, 14, 29, 47, 60, 66.
Hertha, identical with Frigga, 371.
History, general, compared with detailed history, 2.
Humboldt quoted, 253, 271.
Hwae-nan-tsze quoted, 166 *n.*

I J

Jacob compared with Esau, 122.
Jeremiah quoted, 130, 193.
Jerusalem, 86; described, 208-226; history, 187-208; fall, 198-200.
Indian temples described, 135-155.
Joel quoted, 131.
Jonah quoted, 31, 38, 41.
Josephus, 9, 125, 198.
Isaiah quoted, 117.

K

Karnak described, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52.
Keightley, 374.

Kingsborough quoted, 270.
Kitto quoted, 93, 94, 105, 106, 109-110, 132-134.
Kwan's Buddhistic tract translated, 181-186.

L

Laou-tsze, life and doctrines of, 164-188.
Layard quoted, 23-25, 34, 36, 37, 39, 41-44.
Lecompte quoted, 157, 160, 164, 165, 167, 177.
Locke quoted, 266.
Long quoted, 51-52.
Luxor, 46-52.

M

Macfarlane quoted, 228-231, 242-244.
Mahomet Ebu Reschid, 126-127.
Mallet quoted, 362-364, 368.
Manetho, 46.
Marathon, battle of, 67.
Mariner quoted, 368 n.
Martin quoted, 158, 162-163, 167.
Maundeville quoted, 34.
Maundrell quoted, 119-120.
Medinet-Abou, 51.
Memphis, 46, 55-62.
Mexican traditions, 270-273.
Mississippi Valley, ruins of, 266-270.
Montesquieu quoted, 361.
Moooi a Tonga God, 373.
Mukallibé described, 30-34.
Murghab described, 81.
Mycenæ described, 331-337.

N

Nahum quoted, 50, 153.
Naksh-i-Rustam inscription, 63.
Neander quoted, 360.
Nebuchadnezzar, of Babylon, 15-21, 24, 47, 116, 117.
Niebuhr, 344.
Nineveh, description of, 36-44.
Ninus, king of Nineveh, 36.
No-Ammon, the ancient name of Thebes, 45.

O

Odin, the Scandinavian deity, 370.
Olin quoted, 129.
Osymandyas, 51.

P

Palmyra, 98, 103-110.
Peking, 159-186.
Persia and Persians, 23, 25, 39, 65, 66.
Persepolis described, 63-83.
Petra, 122-134.
Pickering quoted, 375.
Plato, 311-314.
Polynesians, their religion similar to that of Scandinavia, 366, 373.
Porter quoted, 67-70, 82-83.
Premare quoted, 171.
Prescott quoted, 248-252, 254.
Prideaux quoted, 70, 107-108, 111.
Ptolemy, Lathyrus, 58.

R

Rawlinson quoted, 74.
Rich quoted, 26-34.
Richardson, 208-210.
Robinson quoted, 120-121.
Roger of Wendover, 204.
Rome, 347; early condition, 348; arts, 353; literature, 353; view of, 354-356; Papal, 357-360.

S

Salsette, description of, 140.

Sardis, history and fall of, 230-245.
Scandinavia, 361-375; the religion of, 373; legends, 374-375.
Semiramis, 11, 12, 46.
Sesostris, 46-48.
Smyrna described, 227-231.
Stephens quoted, 55, 257-263.
St. Peter's Basilica, 358.
Socrates, 312-313.
Solomon, his policy, 104-107.
Solon, 282-288.
Southey quoted, 366.
Syrian inscription in China, 162.

T

Tacitus quoted and criticised, 365.
Ta-hio quoted, 172-173.
Taou philosophy, 164, 168.
Thebes described, 45-54.
Theseus, 277; his character, 278.
Thor, a Scand. deity, 372.
Thornton quoted, 174-175, 176.
Thucydides quoted, 280.
Trilogy, sketch of Greek, 334-337.
Tyre, history of, 111-121.

U V

Vallé's ruin described, 27.
Vaux quoted, 65, 71.
Vedas, 146-151.
Veii described, 338-346; fall of, 345-346.
Virgil, 351-352.
Vishnu, the Indian deity, 146-151.
Uxmal described, 255-264.

W

Wachsmuth quoted, 282-284, 285-288.
Wadi-Mousa, 125-128.
Wilkinson quoted, 55-60.
William of Malmesbury quoted, 206.
Wilson quoted, 96-98.
Wood quoted, 356.
Wordsworth quoted, 274-275, 291, 322, 329, 332.

Y

Yggdrassil, 373.
Yucatan, its pyramid temples, 247-255.

Z

Zenobia, her policy, 108.
Zoroaster, his doctrine and mission, 71-73.

London: Printed by Stewart and Murray, Old Bailey.





[redacted]

UND BY
E & SON,



